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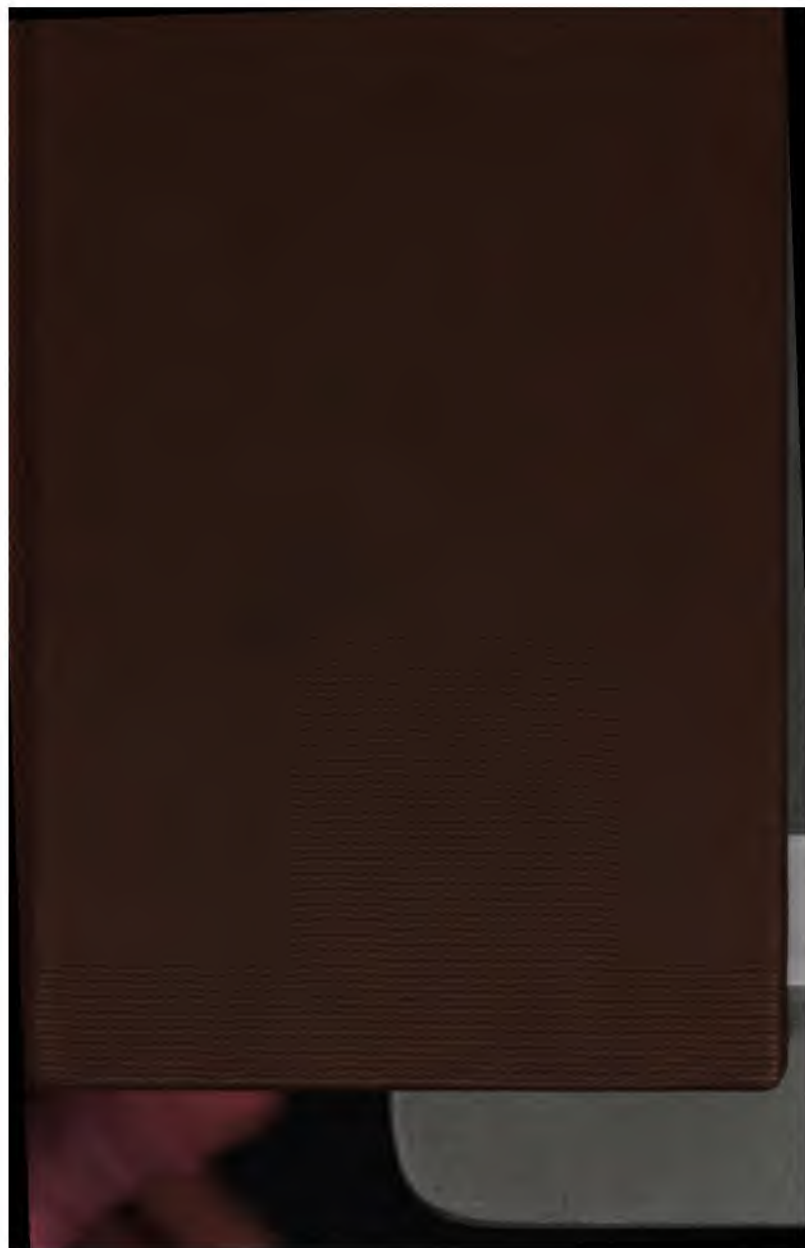
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*James Lennox*

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Scott







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**CALVIN**  
**AND THE**  
**SWISS REFORMATION.**

L. B. SEELEY AND SONS,  
WESTON GREEN, THAMES DITTON, SURREY.

# CALVIN

AND THE

## SWISS REFORMATION:

BY JOHN SCOTT, M. A.

VICAR OF NORTH FERRIBY, AND MINISTER OF ST. MARY'S,  
HULL, ETC.

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RAY VERN  
ALLEN  
WYOMING

## PREFACE.

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THE present volume is composed precisely upon the same plan as the two which have preceded it, on the Lutheran Reformation. The materials are drawn from the Author's Continuation of Milner's Church History: and the design has been to present all that can be interesting to the general reader—still referring the more minute inquirer, and especially the theological student to the original work. The volume is not however a *mere abridgment*: a new arrangement, and even new matter is occasionally introduced. Nor is such *documentary evidence* withheld as may furnish the illustration, which is so necessary and so gratifying, of the real spirit and conduct of the more eminent reformers.

The history of the Swiss branch of the reformation has in general been little known in this country, compared with what it deserves to be: and even the life of Calvin may be said never to have been brought before the English reader, with any attempt adequately to illustrate it from the reformer's correspondence and other original documents, in any work



prior to that from which the present volume is derived. At least no such work has come under the Author's observation.

For the *authorities*, on which the several statements rest, the reader must be referred, as before, to the Continuation of Milner.

J. S.

*Hull, Dec. 11, 1832.*

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# THE SWISS REFORMATION.

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## CHAPTER I.

*The Swiss people—Early History of Zwingle—Commencement of Reformation—Coadjutors of Zwingle.*

THE history of the Lutheran or German reformation is in some degree known to every reader. Much less acquaintance with the like contemporaneous revolution in Switzerland is in general possessed. Indeed much less opportunity of acquiring information respecting it has been afforded to the English reader. Scarcely any popular writer among us has entered into any detail of it, and even the ecclesiastical authorities to which we most frequently recur have treated it only in a very cursory manner.<sup>1</sup> Yet the latter history is scarcely less worthy of study than the former. It presents a similar developement of noble and devoted character; illustrates in a cor-

<sup>1</sup> A single paragraph on Zwingle's opposition to indulgences, and subsequently an account chiefly of the controversy between his followers and the Lutherans on the eucharist, is all that Mosheim furnishes concerning the history of this important event.

responding manner the power of true evangelical doctrine; and exhibits the same triumphant success of Christian truth and Christian liberty against that superstition and despotism over conscience, which had long held the human mind in a state of servitude and imbecility.

The Swiss are well known as a peculiar and highly interesting people, who owe much of their character to the country which they occupy. An abrupt and mountainous district naturally stimulates the imagination of its inhabitants; forms their minds to a chivalrous daring, and their bodies to hardihood and activity; and is fitted for long preserving among them the original simplicity of their manners. It also cherishes the natural love of liberty, by the facility which it affords for even a very small number of persons successfully maintaining their independence against the most numerous and powerful assailants.

Switzerland comprises, or at least till of late comprised, thirteen cantons, with a number of other states dependent upon them or in alliance with them. The cantons are, by a common treaty, formed into one general body, of which each member, though sovereign within its own territory, is bound to support the rest against every foreign enemy. Certain members of the confederacy appear also to be more intimately bound to one another, by treaties of confraternity and co-burghership. The cantons were divided into eight *ancient*, Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris, which were associated during the former half of the fourteenth century; and five *new* cantons, Basle, Friburg, Soleure, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, admitted into the league in the latter part of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Five of the cantons we shall find distinguished, both in modern times, and in the *times of which we have to treat*, as the *Roman-catholic cantons*, namely, Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Under-

walden, and Zug; and four as the reformed cantons, Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen. Friburg and Soleure also are Roman-catholic, but apparently with a less bigoted zeal than the five: Glaris and Appenzel are mixed in their religion. The five new cantons were also termed *neutral*; because, in case of a rupture between the eight ancient cantons, they were bound not to espouse either party. Of the dependencies of the cantons, some were called *Common Bailliages*; the sovereignty of them belonging to several cantons in common, which alternately sent a bailiff to preside over them for a limited term. The greater part of the country was anciently under the protection of the empire, till, protection being extended to dominion, and dominion converted into oppression, several of the cantons united, and asserted their independence, in the early part of the fourteenth century. Their example was followed by their neighbours, and, after a series of heroic conflicts, the liberty of the whole Helvetic Confederation was established.

It is obvious, that in such a country as this the reformation might proceed, without encountering any such powerful opponents as it had to contend with in Germany. Shut up within their own mountains, and each state free and independent within itself, the people had little to fear from either the pope or the emperor, or from any one but the members of their own union, whose powers were so equally balanced or duly checked, as to excite in them little apprehension of danger.

Of the religious condition of Switzerland, previously to the reformation, and of the necessity which existed there for that great moral revolution, a sufficiently correct judgment may be formed from the account which has been given of the state of Christendom in general at that period, in our history of the *Lutheran reformation*. "*The church of Rome, at the commencement of the sixteenth century,*" says

Ruchat, in the opening of his history of the Swiss reformation, "had attained such a height of grandeur and power, that it seemed impossible that it should be disturbed. Especially in Switzerland any change of religion appeared hopeless, both on account of the strict alliance which subsisted with the pope, and of the extreme ignorance and corruption which prevailed. But it is in such circumstances," he piously adds, "that God is pleased to work, that all the glory may be given to him. His sanctity could not permit him longer to tolerate the *frightful excess* of disorder which reigned in the churches of Europe, where the Creator seemed to be entirely forgotten, and creatures substituted in his place. But God," he proceeds "must have his true worshippers, who shall 'worship him in spirit and in truth : ' and hence he raised up at this time, in almost all the states of Europe, (Italy itself not excepted,) pious, learned, and illustrious men, animated with a noble zeal for the glory of God and the good of his church. These great men rose up all at once, as if by concert, though actually without any previous communication, against the dominant errors ; and by their constancy and resolution, accompanied by the blessing of heaven, happily succeeded in drawing forth the light of the gospel from under the vessel which had covered it, and in effecting a reformation of the church."

Zwingle, though he was the great apostle of the Swiss reformation, had some precursors, who in a measure prepared his way, like the star that is the harbinger of the rising sun. Of these, as the accounts we have of them are brief and jejune, it may suffice to mention John Geiler, surnamed, from the place where he was brought up, Cæsaremontanus, or Keiserberger, and Thomas Wytttenbach. The former was a native of Schaffhausen, born in 1445, who "sowed," we are told, "the seeds of divine truth at Strasburg, for thirty-three years together, from 1477 to 1510."—*Wytttenbach* was of a noble family at Bienne, and

was born there in 1472. He was professor of divinity, first at Tübingen, and afterwards at Basle, and finally became pastor of his native town. At Basle, he had Zwingle, Leo Jude, and others who bore an important part in the work of reformation, for his pupils. Leo Jude commemorates him as a man "accomplished in all kinds of learning, as well as in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures; so that he was esteemed the phenix of his age. And from him," he says, "both Zwingle and myself derived whatever sound knowledge we have possessed." Zwingle also says, that from him he had first learned "that Jesus Christ is made of God unto us righteousness, and the satisfaction for the sins of the world." He publicly disputed in the divinity schools against indulgences, and for the liberty of marriage to the clergy; and maintained "that the death of Christ is the only ransom of our souls." But we proceed to Zwingle himself.

Ulric Zwingle was born January 1, 1484, in the county of Tockenbure, a dependency of the abbey of S. Gallen, at a place which, from its rude and mountainous situation, was called Wildenhaus. His father was of a respectable rank in life, having been chief magistrate of the district in which he lived. Our reformer is said to have been principally brought up, till he was ten years of age, with his uncle, an ecclesiastic, who held the office of a rural dean, and was a man of learning and probity. He afterwards studied successively at Basle, Berne, Vienna, and then again at Basle. His removal to Vienna is said to have been occasioned by the attempts made by the Dominicans, at Berne, to induce him to join their order; which was contrary to his father's wishes. From his earliest years he appears to have been the favourite of his masters, all of whom were captivated alike with *his genius* and with the *promising dispositions which he shewed*. After having gone *through his course of theology* under Wytttenbach,



and taken the degree of master of arts, he was called to the pastoral charge of the town of Glaris, in the year 1506. At Glaris he spent ten years : and during that time, especially, acquired his preparation for all that followed. Here it pleased God gradually to open his eyes to the disorders and corruptions of the church. Becoming sensible, likewise, that the most obvious and most necessary step towards a just acquaintance with divine truth is the diligent study of the scriptures ; he, in order to that, applied himself to the original languages. A most interesting manuscript still exists in the library of Zurich—a copy of all S. Paul's Epistles, in the original Greek, with numerous annotations from the principal fathers, which Zwingle wrote out with his own hand, and then committed entire to memory. He afterwards pursued the same course with respect to the other books of the New Testament. His friend Oswald Myconius, in his brief narrative concerning him, beautifully describes the devout conduct of his studies at this time. " After he had learned from Peter, that scripture is not of private interpretation, he directed his eyes upward to heaven, seeking the Spirit for his teacher ; supplicating, in earnest prayer, to be taught in what manner best to search out the sense of the divine word." He did not however confine himself to the inspired writers, or to authors approved by the church : he read the works of Rattramn, or Bertram, who taught the primitive doctrine of the sacrament, to the exclusion of transubstantiation ; and those also of Wicliff and of Huss. Referring to the close of this period, he afterwards says, " I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, when the name of Luther had never been heard in these parts : " thus " counting for nothing," observes Ruchat, " the labours of the preceding years, because *during them he had preached human traditions, and not the word of God.*"

*But the passage, from which this citation is made,*

presents such a picture of the reformer's mind, and also shews so much on what grounds and in what sense he claimed independence of Luther, that the substance of it may well deserve to be transcribed. It occurs in a work which he published in the year 1523. He says: "As I have happened to mention Luther, that most valiant and able servant of God, I will here introduce some observations which I have to make concerning him. It is not long since the great and mighty men of this world have begun to persecute the doctrine of Christ under the name of Luther; and not only to persecute it, but to endeavour to render it obnoxious; giving the name of *Lutheran* to every thing truly Christian, whoever may promulgate it: so that, even if a man who had never read the writings of Luther, should preach the word of God purely and sincerely, he must immediately be stigmatized as a Lutheran. I myself have experienced this treatment. I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, at a time when the name of Luther had never been heard in these parts. My manner of preaching was this, while the mass was yet in use: I expounded to the people the gospel which was read in the service. I drew my exposition not from the comments and figments of men, but solely from comparing scripture with scripture. At that time I was much addicted to the early doctors of the church, as more clear and pure than the moderns; though some things in them did not satisfy me. In 1519, when I had removed to Zurich, I told the venerable the provost, and the other members of the chapter, that I would publicly explain the gospel of S. Matthew, still deriving my exposition from scripture itself. In the beginning of that year no one among us had heard any thing of Luther beyond this, that he had published against indulgences: on which subject he could not instruct me, as I had already *learned under Dr. Wyttenbach* that indulgences were *nothing but vanity and imposture*. Who then does

not see that Luther's writings afforded me no assistance in my expositions of S. Matthew, which, to my astonishment, were attended by crowds of persons desirous of knowing the truth? I appeal even to you, ye enemies of the doctrine of Christ, whether any one at that period attempted to reproach me as a Lutheran? Why moreover did the Roman cardinals, who were then on an embassy at Zurich, and who attempted to corrupt me with Italian gold, never call me a Lutheran till after they had pronounced Luther a heretic—which they could never prove him to be? I say these things, and appeal to all the circumstances and proofs, to shew the audacity and insolence of certain persons, advanced to greatness from a very mean condition, who attempt to stop and turn aside, by the name of Lutheranism, those who preach the gospel of Christ. . . . . I began to preach the gospel before I ever heard the name of Luther. And, in order that I might do so, I ten years ago applied myself to the study of Greek, that I might draw the doctrine of Christ from the original source. What success I have had, I leave it to others to judge: but certainly Luther gave me no assistance, for I was ignorant of his very name when I learned to place all my reliance exclusively on the sacred scriptures. Luther, as far as I can judge, is a most gallant soldier of Jesus Christ, who studies the word of God with a zeal and diligence which have had no parallel for this thousand years. I care not if the court of Rome now pronounce me a heretic along with him. I say there has been no one (though I would not depreciate others,) who has attacked the pope with such a determined and undaunted spirit, since the popedom had an existence. But to whom is this noble proceeding of his to be ascribed? Is it from Luther or from God? Ask Luther himself. I know he will say it is from God. Why then do you ascribe other men's doctrines to Luther, when Luther himself ascribes his doctrine to God? Luther introduces

no novelty: he only brings forth freely what is treasured up in the immutable and eternal word of God; pointing out and displaying the heavenly treasure to Christians who have been led to seek it from wrong sources. Nor does he heed what the enemies of God may attempt against it; or with what eyes they may look upon him, or how they may threaten him. Yet, all this notwithstanding, I do not choose to bear the name of Luther; whose writings I have very little read: nay, I have often abstained from reading them, that I might not excite the prejudices of the papists.<sup>1</sup> Those of his works which I have read (I speak of his doctrines and sentiments, generally, for with his particular contentions I have nothing to do,) are sound, and founded on the word of God, so that no creature can overthrow them. I am not ignorant that he still allows many things to the weak, where he might do otherwise: for instance, I hear that he attributes some value to auricular confession: and in these things I do not subscribe to his sentiments.... In the first place, then, they have condemned the brave soldier of Jesus Christ, Martin Luther; and then, in the next, they attach his name to those to whom it does not belong, that thus they may represent Christ's doctrine as sectarian and heretical. But suffer not, Christians, that the name of a man should be given to you: neither do you give it to others. Let not any one ask his neighbour whether he is a Lutheran, but, what he thinks of the doctrine of Christ; whether he delights in the word of God; whether he is a Christian; that is, whether he is constantly working good towards God and his neighbour..... Luther did not die for us: he only points out to us Him from whom cometh all salvation.....

<sup>1</sup> Zwingle's conduct with respect to the writings of Luther is stated to have been as follows: having sufficiently ascertained the nature of their contents, he recommended them to his people, but purposely abstained from reading them himself, for the reasons here assigned, and for that very important one with which he concludes the passage.

I will not allow therefore that the papists should call me a Lutheran, for I learned not the doctrine of Christ from Luther, but from the word of God. If Luther preaches Christ, he does what I also do. Although by his instrumentality (thanks be to God!) innumerable persons, and more than by mine, may have been led to Christ, yet I will bear no other name than that of Christ, my only leader, whose soldier I am. He shall assign me my service and my reward, as seemeth him good.

"All then, I think, may now understand why I am unwilling to be called a Lutheran, though no man esteems Luther more highly than I do. I will say also, that I never wrote a line to Luther, directly or indirectly; nor he to me. And why have I not? Certainly not for the fear of any man: *but that it might appear to all men how consistent and uniform is the Spirit of God, when we two, placed at such a distance from each other, and holding no intercourse together, write and teach the doctrine of Christ in such perfect harmony.* I compare not myself to Luther: every one has what the Lord gives him: each one achieves that to which God leads him on."

We here at once feel ourselves to be in the company of a hero. Bold in asserting what he knows to be true and right, as respected himself, and in exposing the artifices of the enemies of divine truth, he is yet ready to do ample justice to the merits and services of his great compeer. It is moreover eminently as a *Christian* hero that he is here exhibited to us; referring all that is accomplished, either by himself or by others, to God who "worketh all, and in all." No one can mistake the ground on which he so resolutely disclaims the name of Lutheran. It is from no petty jealousy of Luther, nor from any fear of the cross: the testimony which he thus publicly bears to that reformer, and the defiance which he holds out to the court of Rome and all other enemies, place him above every such suspicion: but he will

not voluntarily consent to that, which would call into action a violent and unreasonable prejudice, and cause the doctrine of Christ to be rejected without examination.

Much has been written on the question of the priority of Luther or Zwingli as a reformer. Their *independence* one of the other this passage must be allowed to establish; which is the point of much the greater importance, not only as it may concern their honour, (for which we ought not to indulge too much jealousy,) but especially for the purpose insisted upon by Zwingli himself at the close of the passage—leading us to admire the wonderful works of God in raising such mighty instruments of his grace to coöperate, without mutual communication; and, “the consistency and uniformity of his Spirit,” in leading them “to teach the doctrine of Christ in perfect harmony,” the one with the other. With respect to the question of *priority*, between them, those, who would deprive Luther of the honour of taking the lead in the great work of reformation, do not appear properly to distinguish between knowing and even teaching the truth in a comparatively quiet way, and publicly raising the standard against reigning error, so as to draw general attention, and commence a revolution. In the former way Zwingli might perhaps precede Luther; in the latter Luther certainly took the lead of Zwingli. Both of them had the knowledge of divine truth—of the doctrine of justification,<sup>1</sup> in particular—*before* the year 1517: in 1516 Zwingli preached the gospel at Glaris, and Luther, no doubt, taught it in his lectures at Wittenberg: for some time, Zwingli perhaps had the advantage in point of knowledge,<sup>2</sup> and possibly he had done more to disseminate it previously to the month of September, 1517, than Luther had done:

<sup>1</sup> Lutheran Reformation, vol. i. p. 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Gerdes, Hist. Ref. i. 129.

but at that period Luther blew the blast which resounded throughout Christendom, when Zwingle's sentiments had been little heard of beyond the immediate sphere of his own labours; and thus he caused the astonished world so firmly to affix the name of Lutheran to the new doctrine, whether taught by Luther in Germany or by Zwingle in Switzerland, that for many years after no other distinctive appellation could obtain currency.

But, though Zwingle "began to preach the gospel in 1516," we must not suppose that he as yet went all the length of the noble passage which we have quoted from him, written in 1523. He was rather preparing to be a reformer, than had actually become such. His ministrations at Glaris were however doubtless very useful; and they proved the means of raising up some persons who afterwards became serviceable to the reformation.

In the years 1513 and 1515, according to the custom of the Swiss, Zwingle, as pastor, accompanied the troops which marched into Italy to assist the pope and the emperor against the French, in the wars of Milan. On the former of these occasions he witnessed a signal victory of his countrymen at Novarra, and on the latter a great disaster at the famous battle of Marignano. Here he at least attempted to render important services, and himself received considerable honours: but he obtained such views of the consequences of the practice prevalent among his countrymen, of letting out their troops to the different parties in quarrels which belonged not to them, as decided his own future conduct, and through his means produced a renunciation of the practice on the part of several of the cantons.

It was soon after his return from his second Italian expedition, that Zwingle received an invitation which removed him to a new and somewhat extraordinary scene of labour. In the canton of *Schweitz* there exists a rich and magnificent founda-

tion of the Benedictines, which was then, and is even to the present day, the grand resort of superstition in Switzerland. This is the abbey of Einsidlin, or of "our Lady of the Hermitage." It may be called, says Ruchat, "the Ephesian Diana," or "the Loretto of Switzerland." It is asserted that when, about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, the bishop of Constance, the abbot of S. Gallen, and other dignitaries, were about to consecrate this convent, they were forbidden to proceed by a supernatural voice, declaring that God himself had already consecrated it; or, as other versions of the story give it, that the Redeemer, assisted by a choir of angels, fathers, and martyrs, had performed the service in person, "according to the rites of the Roman church;" and, as a proof of the fact, had left the print of the fingers of his right hand miraculously impressed upon a stone. This stone continued to be the object of adoration till the year 1802, when a part of the chapel was destroyed. In commemoration of the extraordinary event thus recorded, a festival, styled "the Angels' Consecration," was observed once in seven years, to the time when arch-deacon Coxe visited the place, about fifty years ago, and probably is observed to the present day. The great object of attraction, however, was and is a miraculous image of the Virgin, by which unnumbered cures are said to be performed, and to which, in consequence, crowds of pilgrims resort from all quarters, to pay their devotions and present their offerings, and to receive that "full remission of all their sins, both guilt and punishment," which an inscription, supported by the figure of an angel, assures them is thus to be found. Dr. Coxe tells us that he himself saw "several hundreds, in groups of different numbers," approach the place, and that some of them "consisted of a whole parish, attended by their spiritual pastor." "It is computed," he says, "that, upon the most moderate calculation,



their number amounts yearly to a hundred thousand." Such is popery, even to the present hour, where it is dominant; and that in a free country, surrounded by an enlightened population, and within sight of protestant establishments!

The administrator of the abbey at this time was Theobald baron Geroldseck, and the abbot, (by office a prince of the empire,) Conrad of Rechenberg. The former was a zealous patron of men of learning and piety; and the latter a man averse to superstition; who had so little opinion of the sacrifice of the mass, that, when urged by the visitors of the convent to celebrate it, he replied, "If Jesus Christ is really present in the host, I am unworthy to look upon him, much less to offer him in sacrifice to the Father: and, if he is not there present, wo unto me if I present bread to the people as the object of their worship, instead of God!" These distinguished persons, influenced by the fame of Zwingle's zeal and learning, invited him to accept the office of minister of the abbey church.<sup>1</sup> Zwingle did not hesitate to accept the call, as it presented to him the prospect of extended usefulness among the multitudes of persons who visited the place from all parts, and at the same time would afford him peculiar advantages for prosecuting his studies, by the aid of the library, and in conjunction with the learned inmates of the house. Accordingly he removed thither in the autumn of the year 1516; to the great regret of the citizens of Glaris. The fame of Zwingle, and the character of the administrator, drew a number of learned men to Einsidlin. Several of these united with him in the diligent study of the learned languages and of the fathers, of the writings of Reuchlin, or Capnio, the reviver of Hebrew literature, and of Erasmus. He kept up also a regular correspondence with Wolfgang Fabricius Capito (then of Basle,) and Caspar

<sup>1</sup> "A large and magnificent building." Coxe.

Hedio—men whose names are famous in the history of the reformation; as well as with Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, Glareanus, John Faber, grand vicar of the bishop of Constance, and many others. The letters of these learned men are full of commendations of his knowledge, and of the services which he rendered to the church. They bear unequivocal testimony, therefore, to the general estimation which he had conciliated, and to the hopes which were entertained from him.

Striking accounts are given of Zwingle's preaching in his present extraordinary situation, and of the degree of reform which, supported by the administrator, he was enabled to introduce. He taught his audience "to seek the pardon of their sins, not from the blessed Virgin, but in the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ." He proclaimed to the multitudes of pilgrims, selecting especially for that purpose the festival of the consecration, "that little account was to be made of indulgences, pilgrimages, vows, and offerings presented to the patroness of the Hermitage; that the grace of God was equally attainable in one place as in another: and that he was as ready to hear prayer at their own homes as at Einsidlin; that the honours rendered there and elsewhere to the Virgin were derogatory to the honour of God; that there was no such place as purgatory; and that the merit of the monastic life was nothing but a vain imagination." A modern writer, who has exhibited perhaps a somewhat embellished representation of the reformer's discourses to this effect, thus describes the impression made by them. "Language so unexpected produced impressions difficult to describe. Admiration and indignation were painted alternately on every face while Zwingle was speaking; and, when at length the orator had concluded his discourse, a confused murmur betrayed the deep emotions he had excited. *Their expression was restrained at first by the holiness of the place; but, as soon as they could*

be freely vented, some, guided by prejudice or personal interest, declared themselves against this new doctrine: others felt a fresh light breaking in upon them, and applauded what they had heard with transport."<sup>1</sup> The description is sufficiently probable; and the records of the times assure us, that some of the pilgrims were seen to return, and carry back with them the tapers and offerings which they had brought to present to the Virgin. Zwingle so completely carried the administrator, and it would seem the abbot also, along with him, as to effect the removal of the offensive tablet, (long since restored,) which promised plenary remission of sins to those who visited the shrine, to procure the burial of the relics of the saints, and to introduce sundry other reforms.

About the same time, Zwingle had the opportunity of conversing, at Einsidlin, with the celebrated cardinal Schinner, and he availed himself of it seriously to impress upon his consideration the effects of human traditions, and of the whole train of external observances which were mistaken for piety and holiness; averring that, if the evil were not remedied, religion must utterly go to ruin. He exhorted him to use his utmost efforts to ward off so fatal an event, and to excite the other dignitaries, who had the chief direction of the affairs of the church, sincerely and earnestly to undertake the work of reformation. The cardinal professed to enter into his views, and promised to do all in his power to promote the desired object: but, whether from loss of influence or from want of inclination, he went not beyond the use of fair words.

Zwingle addressed to the same purport the successive papal legates, Ennius and Pucci: and solicited the support of his diocesan, Hugh de Landenberg, bishop of Constance, in the course which he *should deem* it incumbent on him to pursue. He

<sup>1</sup> Hess, Life of Zwingle.

told him, that he himself, and other divines who had had the happiness to discover the truth, felt themselves in conscience bound to proclaim it, and to oppose errors and assail abuses.

Still however he had not drawn upon himself the displeasure of the see of Rome. Suspicion was not yet fully awake, and men of talent and character might go further without exciting alarm than they could afterwards do. We even find at this time a further proof of the estimation in which Zwingle was held, in a diploma sent him by Leo X, through the legate Pucci, constituting him a chaplain of the holy see. Nor was it till two years afterwards that he voluntarily renounced his pensions from Rome, feeling that he could no longer innocently retain them.

Before taking leave of Einsidlin, it may be satisfactory to the reader to be informed of the subsequent history of the abbot and the administrator. The former died in the year 1526, after having banished almost all superstitious observances from his abbey. Indeed, he had only two monks remaining attached to it. A little before his death, when Leo Jude, the successor of Zwingle in the abbey church, was disputing in his presence with a monk on some abstruse points, the abbot feelingly and piously observed, "What does all this signify? For my part, I wish with my last breath to cry with David, 'Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness! Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord!' I concern myself about nothing else." It is scarcely necessary to add, that on the approach of death he dispensed with all the rites of the Romish church. The Baron Geroldseck was one of those who fell with Zwingle in the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531. In 1523 Zwingle dedicated to him his Essay on the canon of the mass, and took that occasion of affectionately acknowledging "his paternal kindness," and of praising his constancy in the cause of religion. He had not been one, he says, "who,

having put his hand to the plough, looked back. No storm of adversity had ever availed in the least to turn him aside; which must be considered as an argument of his unfeigned faith." It is delightful to read these testimonies of men occupying such stations, and brought up as they must have been.

During the residence of Zwingle at Einsidlin, he had become advantageously known to several persons of consideration at Zurich, either by their being attracted to become his occasional hearers, or by his visits to their city. In consequence, when a vacancy occurred in the office of pastor of the cathedral church, a wish prevailed that he should be invited to accept the charge. Among those who zealously promoted this object was Oswald Myconius, master of the public school at Zurich, who was in high esteem there for his piety, learning, and intelligence. In a considerable degree through his influence, the chapter offered the vacant situation to Zwingle, who, after proper deliberation, resolved to accept it; though its emoluments were less than those of which he was already in possession. Indeed, on that subject he declined to stipulate for any terms whatever. It opened to him, he conceived, the prospect of greater and more permanent usefulness; and he looked no further. "It could scarcely be," he observed, "but that, if the grace of Christ were preached and received in so celebrated a city as Zurich, the rest of Switzerland should follow the example." He quitted Einsidlin therefore, though with much sacrifice of feeling both to himself and to those whom he was leaving, and removed to Zurich in the month of December, 1518: and in this case, as in that of his removal from Glaris, the most honourable testimony was borne to him by the authorities under which he had lived.

A great degree of ignorance and corruption of manners, both among the clergy and the laity, appears to have prevailed at that time at Zurich. "Letters

wanted a restorer; both the governors and the governed an intrepid censor, who should dare to recall them to their respective duties; and fainting religion a minister capable of rekindling its ardor, and restoring its influence upon manners." And all this Zwingle was well qualified to become.

A few days after his settlement there, he was called to meet the chapter. When the mutual civilities and the ceremonies of the occasion had passed, he undertook to explain the plan of public instruction which he intended to adopt; of which we have already heard some hints from his own pen. Instead of confining himself, as was customary, to a meagre explanation of the gospel or epistle of the day, and thus limiting the acquaintance of the people with the scriptures to a few detached portions, he proposed, in the first place, to expound and apply the whole of the evangelical history, beginning with the gospel of S. Matthew, and that "not from human traditions," as he said, "but according to the mind of the Spirit, which he did not doubt that, by means of earnest prayer to God, and diligently comparing scripture with scripture, he should be able to discover." All this, he trusted, "would tend to advance the glory of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to promote the salvation of souls, and the edification of the people in the true Christian faith." Though some of the canons heard his proposals with pleasure, others objected to the plan as an innovation. But to the latter he shewed, from the homilies of S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine, that it was no other than a return to the ancient practice of the church, and that the custom which had superseded it was of no older date than the time of Charlemagne. Accordingly he proceeded to execute his design, and preached his first sermon on Christmas-day, 1518. His new and spirited style of preaching drew constantly a crowded audience to the church, and made a strong impression on their minds. Some, as might

have been expected, took offence at the manner in which, while he set forth the truths of the gospel, he exposed superstition and hypocrisy; thundered against the reigning vices of the times—idleness, intemperance, and oppression of the poor; and thus disturbed the consciences of many, and swept away the “refuges of lies” in which they had reposed.<sup>1</sup> Others blessed God for sending them such a preacher, who, as they simply but forcibly expressed it, told them “things as they really were.” On the ground of his opposition to indulgences, (of which we shall shortly have to give a more particular account,) he had at this time the countenance and support of John Faber, already mentioned as the grand vicar of the bishop of Constance—within whose diocese Zurich, as well as Einsidlin, lay. Faber assured him that the bishop was determined no longer to endure the pride and insolence of the pope. But, if that prelate had ever done more than express such a sentiment in a moment of irritation, he did not long retain it, and it had no practical results: for Zwingle’s repeated and urgent solicitations could never induce him to take one step towards the reformation of the church. The zealous and indefatigable labours of the reformer, however, were attended with the most encouraging success at Zurich. At the expiration of a year, notwithstanding much formidable opposition, he was able to reckon as many as two thousand persons who were so far, at least, his converts, as to avow his sentiments.

The reader will not be unwilling to peruse this great man’s account of his own proceedings as a preacher at Zurich, written in the year 1523. “It is now four years ago that I preached through the whole gospel of Matthew. . . . I then proceeded to the Acts of the apostles, that the church of Zurich might see in what manner, and by what persons, the gospel was

<sup>1</sup> *Myconius* observes: “He carried with him such authority, in reproving sin and sinners, as I never witnessed in any other man.”

at first propagated in the world. Next followed the first epistle of Paul to Timothy; which, as exhibiting the rules of the conduct that becomes Christians, seemed admirably calculated to form a consistent and well-ordered flock. As some now appeared not to be sound in the faith, I deferred the second epistle to Timothy till I had gone through that to the Galatians; and then I explained it also. Some pretenders to wisdom then began impiously to say, 'Who, after all, is Paul? is he not a man like ourselves? Though he might be an apostle, he was but of an inferior order—not one of those who personally conversed with Christ. Aquinas or Scotus is more to be relied on than he.' Such being the case, I next brought forward the two epistles of Peter, the chief of the apostles, that they might clearly see whether one spirit did not animate both him and Paul, and whether both did not speak the same things. I have since entered upon the epistle to the Hebrews, that the people might more fully understand the benefits and the glory of Christ. Hence they will learn, and indeed have in some degree learned, that he is the great High Priest; . . . . and that he, 'by his one offering of himself, once offered, hath for ever perfected them that are sanctified.'—Such are the things which we have 'planted:' Matthew, Luke, Paul, Peter have 'watered' them; and God hath given a wondrous 'increase'—which I will not be the person to proclaim, lest I should seem to seek my own glory, and not that of Christ. Go now and say, if you can, that this plantation is not of our heavenly Father's planting.—Thus, by no cunningly devised modes of address, but in the use of simple words of our own country's native growth, I have led the people to the knowledge of their disease;—following our Lord's example, who commenced from this point. I have *withdrawn no man from connexion with his proper pastor, provided he were a true pastor, and not a thief and a robber.* From what source I derived the



*discipline* of the church, I have already shewn. I have earnestly exhorted the people to hold fast the glory of our profession: 'having a great High Priest, Jesus the Son of God, who is passed into the heavens;' and not to 'seek honour one of another'—a practice which led away the Jews from faith in Christ. As much as in me lieth, I withdraw men from confidence in any creature, to the only true God, and Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord; in whom 'whosoever believeth shall never die.' With all the earnestness of which I am capable, I urge them to seek pardon from him, who invites us to turn to him even when we have sinned, saying, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' This word of his I so firmly believe, that, should circumstances require, I think I have no need of either bishop or priest to make satisfaction for me: for Christ hath done that, who 'gave himself an offering for us, and hath washed us from our sins in his own blood. I reverence the whole order of presbyters (or priests) as the angels (or messengers) of God: but I abhor those 'whose God is their belly.' I bear, however, even with these, and suffer the tares to grow among the wheat. I exhort men to 'pray without ceasing;' but to do it with the spirit and the heart; 'in spirit and in truth,' as our Lord's words are; and to persevere therein with an importunity which might seem to be wearisome—according to the parable of the widow."

Such a view of his ministry, and of the spirit in which it was conducted, must be gratifying to every pious reader: and we could not but expect a great blessing to rest upon it—as we have seen was actually the case.

In order more successfully to prosecute his work, which grew upon his hands, he engaged the assistance of two able and zealous persons, George Stöhelin and James Wisendanger, or Ceporinut. The former was a native of Schweitz, and had been co-

rate of Baden, where he was distinguished for his zealous labours. The latter was a young man of the canton of Zurich, whom, on account of his skill in the learned languages, Zwingle had recommended to the council for professor of Greek and Hebrew in an academical institution, which, at the reformer's suggestion, they had founded. Zwingle both to incite others, and to improve himself, did not scruple to attend Ceperinus's lectures. Indeed he all this time pursued his studies, as well of the ancient classic authors, as of sacred literature, with unwearied assiduity.

The fundamental point, which Zwingle had been led every where to enforce, from the time that his eyes were first in any degree opened to discern the truth, was the necessity of an undivided and unreserved adherence to the written word of God, as the only standard of truth and duty: the obligation to receive whatever it taught, and to reject whatever was not agreeable to its decisions. And so great was the impression which he had now made, that, in the course of his second year's residence at Zurich, the supreme council was induced to publish an edict, enjoining all preachers, and persons having the cure of souls, to teach nothing which they could not prove from the sacred scriptures, and to pass over in silence the mere doctrines and ordinances of men.

At this time his old master, Wytttenbach, who had been since the year 1515 the faithful pastor of Bienne, hearing of his labours and his success, wrote to him to congratulate and encourage him, and was himself the more emboldened to preach zealously against the errors of popery; which he continued to do to the end of his life.

But it is time that we should advert to Zwingle's opposition to the general indulgence published by Leo X. The publication took place a year later in *Switzerland than in Saxony*: and, though it did not *give the first occasion to Zwingle's reformation, as it*

did to that of Luther, yet it called forth his efforts in a more public manner, and no doubt greatly contributed to advance the objects which he had at heart. In the month of August, 1518, Bernardin Samson, a Franciscan of Milan, deputed by Christopher Forli, the general of his order, to whom the pope had given his commission, entered Switzerland, and there executed the service entrusted to him with as much effrontery, indecency, and extortion as the notorious Tetzels had practised in Germany. Zwingle was at that time stationed at Einsidlin, and it is against the imposture thus practised upon the Christian world that we must suppose those discourses, of which some specimen has been given, to have been specially directed. Through the opposition of our reformer, Samson had little success within the canton of Schweitz. He thence proceeded in succession to Zug, Lucerne, and Underwalden, where he found a better market for his commodities. But it is of his proceedings at Berne that we have the most particular account. Wherever he went he took care to send emissaries before him, possessed of influence and address calculated to prepare his way. Through such means the reluctance which the citizens of Berne had at first manifested to receive him was overcome. He accordingly entered their town with a splendid retinue, under banners displaying jointly the arms of the pope and of the cantons; exhibited his letters of credence with great pomp in the cathedral church; and celebrated high mass before a crowded assembly. He then produced for sale his bulls of indulgence, varying in price from a few pence to the sum of five hundred ducats, according to the benefits which they were to confer, and the circumstances of the purchasers. Some were applicable to individuals only, others extended to whole communities, and to those of past generations as well as of the present. On the last Sunday of his stay at Berne, he convoked the people to the cathedral by

the ringing of the bells, and there, being mounted upon an altar, in the midst of the assembly, caused the following extraordinary graces to be proclaimed by the mouth of one of the canons: "1. That all persons present, who should confess their sins on their knees, and should repeat three paters and three aves, should, by virtue of the merit of Jesus Christ and all the saints, and through the power and grace (or favour) of the pope, receive absolution of all their sins, both guilt and punishment, and should be pure and clean from all sin, as they had been immediately after baptism: 2. That all those who should that day make the circuit of the church, and repeat one devout prayer, should deliver a soul, to be selected by themselves, out of purgatory." After the whole multitude had fallen on their knees, and recited five paters and as many aves, for the relief of the departed, he cried out, "Now all the souls of the Bernese, in whatever place or manner they may have died, are, altogether, and at the same moment, delivered, not only from the pains of purgatory, but from the torments of hell, and are raised to heaven."<sup>1</sup> Such were the impious and shameless impositions which the emissaries of the Romish church were permitted, and even deputed, to practise upon the pitiable ignorance and credulity of its deluded votaries!

At Baden, Samson daily, after the celebration of mass, made a procession round the burial ground, chanting the office for the dead: at the end of which he cried aloud, *Ecce volant!* "See, they fly!" meaning that, in virtue of his indulgences, the souls flew from purgatory to heaven. It is said that one of his hearers, to put that ridicule upon such a proceeding which it deserved, ascended the belfry of the church, taking a pillow with him, and thence, shaking out

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered that only those who die not in mortal sin can be admitted to purgatory. Here therefore is the deliverance of the wicked and impenitent from eternal punishment, and not only that of good, but imperfect, men from purgatorial pains.

the feathers, repeated the words of the monk, *Eccc volant!* "They fly! they fly!" The offence was thought to deserve the gibbet or the stake: but the offender was suffered to escape, on the plea that he wanted understanding; though it may be doubted whether he did not display more than any other person concerned.

Here however the proceedings of the frontless monk were destined to receive a check; and he was soon to be turned back, in merited disgrace, to the place whence he had come. He had now entered the diocese of the bishop of Constance, without asking his sanction, or exhibiting to him the authority under which he acted. These extraordinary indulgences of the pope were always offensive to the bishops, parish priests, and confessors, who regarded them as invading their rights, and diverting their dues into an unfair channel. The bishop therefore, availing himself of the disrespect which Samson had shewn him, issued an inhibition to all his clergy against receiving the intruder. Having also been informed of the zeal with which the chief pastor of Zurich had opposed the indulgences ever since they were brought into the country, he directed his vicar-general, Faber, to write to him in his name, in terms expressive of kindness and esteem, exhorting him "resolutely to prosecute what he had auspiciously begun, and promising him his support in so doing." Faber also himself spoke of Samson and his indulgences in the strongest terms of reprobation, as suited only to make the church odious and contemptible.

Hence, when Samson presented himself at Bremgarten, his next stage, and only four leagues from Zurich, Henry Bullinger, rural dean of the place, and father of the illustrious reformer of the same name, though not himself yet emancipated from popish errors, refused to receive him, protesting that *he would rather lose his life than suffer him to enter his church.* Samson in great wrath, by virtue of the

powers entrusted to him, pronounced against Bullinger a sentence of excommunication, and proceeded immediately to carry his complaints to Zurich, where the general diet of the Swiss cantons was at that time assembled. But he found nothing to console him there. The bishop of Constance had sent deputies to represent his conduct to the diet: Bullinger, who set his excommunication at nought, appeared to answer his charges, or rather to lodge complaints against him: the council of Zurich forbade him to enter their city: and when, on his urging that he had business to bring before the diet on behalf of his master, the pope, he was suffered to appear, even the warmest partizans of the papacy were ashamed of him, and could attempt to save the honour of the sovereign pontiff only by abandoning his emissary, as having exceeded his commission. All that he could obtain from the diet was permission to retire unmolested, on condition of his revoking the excommunication of Bullinger: and this was followed by a formal application, on the part of the diet, to the pope to recall him; which was accompanied by a representation from the council of Zurich of his disgraceful conduct, as a justification of their own proceedings with respect to him. Though his solennes replied but very coldly, and maintained that he only exercised his undoubted right in publishing the indulgence, which "ought to be received with implicit confidence, according to the decisions of the church, and on pain of excommunication;" yet he added, that, if Samson had exceeded his commission in the manner described, he would punish him for his misconduct. Accordingly the wretched man, though he returned into Italy, did not venture to present himself at Rome—fearing probably, that, having now served the pope's turn, he might, by a policy well known to the Romish hierarchy, be sacrificed to appease the odium which the whole proceeding had excited. Leo was the third pope

under whom Samson had been employed in these iniquitous exactions: and he is said to have boasted that he had collected, by the sale of indulgences, not less than eight hundred thousand crowns.

What was the result of any encouragement given to the reformation by the bishop of Constance has already been intimated: but the reader may wish to know how he extricated himself after being so far committed with Zwingle, and having his views so essentially promoted by him. The following information is from the reformer's own pen. "I failed not, with all reverence and humility, publicly and privately, by written addresses to urge him to countenance the light of the gospel, which he now saw bursting forth so that no human counsels could suppress it. . . . . But, from causes which I pretend not to assign, a change had taken place; and they, who had lately excited me by their reiterated exhortations, now deigned me no answer beyond mere public and official communications, which bore no more resemblance to those that had preceded them, than a mite does to an elephant."

It was about this period, in the year 1520, that Zwingle renounced the pension which he had hitherto received from the pope, as a chaplain of the holy see. He himself thus notices the subject in an epistle, in which he two years afterwards inscribed a publication to his five brothers. "I acknowledge myself," he says, "prone to many sins: but, if any of my adversaries charge me with avarice or bad faith, and with teaching false doctrines under the influence of bribes, do not believe them, though they assert it on oath: for there is no person to whom I am under any engagement for favours conferred on me. I do not deny that formerly I received certain pensions from the pope: but these I have done with for some time past. I then thought it lawful and *right to accept the pope's bounty, while it appeared to me a pious and holy thing to support his religion*

with all my powers. But, when my 'knowledge of sin' (as S. Paul speaks,) increased, I soon bade a long farewell to the Roman pontiff and his gifts." Like Luther, he had been conscientious in his attachment to the see of Rome; and, even after he became sensible of the great corruptions which prevailed, it required time and further experience to convince him that it would be necessary to separate from the corrupt church altogether. It may be observed also, that Luther's condemnation by the court of Rome, and Zwingle's renouncing his pension from the pope, occurred about the same time. The bull condemning Luther's writings was dated 15 June, 1520: he publicly burned it on the 10th of December—some time having probably elapsed between its date and its publication: and a further bull of excommunication was issued against him on the 6th of January, 1521. Zwingle on the 24th of July, 1520, had written to Myconius, expressing his hope that an excommunication would not be issued against Luther, and his intention to use his influence with the pope's commissary to prevent it: but he says, "If it is issued, I anticipate that the pope and his excommunication will be alike despised by the Germans."

While such was the course of proceedings in the successive scenes of Zwingle's labours in the three cantons of Glaris, Schweitz, and Zurich, the work of reformation was hopefully commencing in other parts of the Helvetic republic. Basle was the seat of a constellation of great men, who afterwards became distinguished as the restorers of the church. Leo Jude, Pellican, Capito, Œcolampadius, and Hedio were all collected in that city. Vadian was found at S. Gallen, Myconius at Lucerne, Haller at Berne, the two Blaurers and Hoffmeister at Constance. A short notice may here be taken of each of these persons, with all of whom we shall have to form an acquaintance as we proceed.



Leo Jude is mentioned as a person of diminutive stature, but of an heroic mind:<sup>1</sup> and it was said of him, that whatever constitutes a good man was not only found, but abounded in him. He was of a family of rank in Alsace; was born in the year 1482, and received his education at Schlestadt. In 1505 he removed to Basle, and placed himself under Wyttenbach. Here he commenced a friendship with Zwingle, his fellow-pupil, which continued uninterrupted till the death of the latter. 'He was first called to a pastoral charge in his own province; but soon returned to Basle for the more advantageous prosecution of his studies, and there received an appointment as a preacher in the church of S. Theodore. He removed thence to succeed Zwingle at Einsidlin in 1518; and remained at that place till 1523, when Zwingle prevailed on him to join him in his labours at Zurich, and to accept the charge of S. Peter's church. While at Einsidlin, besides a diligent application to general learning, and earnest preaching of the gospel, he studied the writings of Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther; and commenced the translation, which he afterwards finished at Zurich, of Erasmus's paraphrase of the New Testament into the German language. This was considered as a work of no small importance, at a time when a tolerable exposition of the scriptures was scarcely to be found in the vernacular language of any country. He was eminently skilled in Hebrew, and applied his knowledge, as we shall afterwards see, to the production of valuable translations of the sacred writings into the German and Latin languages.

Conrad Kirsner, or Pellican, celebrated for his acquaintance with Hebrew and other oriental literature, which he acquired with immense labour amid all the disadvantages of the times, and consecrated to the illustration of the scriptures, was also a native

<sup>1</sup> *Teucro minor, sed Ajace fortior.*—Zwing.

of Alsace—born at Rüffach in the year 1478. Much against the wishes of his uncle Justus Gallus, who had been a scholar of Wesselus of Gainsfort,<sup>1</sup> he entered upon the monastic life, in the order of Minorites, at the age of sixteen. At twenty-four years of age, his superior learning and piety recommended him to the office of a reader and professor of theology in his order, at Basle. Two years afterwards cardinal Raymond, coming as legate to Basle, was so much struck with him as to cause the degree of doctor in divinity to be conferred on him by a bull from the pope. Of this honour however Pellican's modesty never allowed him to avail himself. The cardinal also prevailed with him to accompany him on his return into Italy—destining him to higher honours at Rome. But illness arrested his progress at Milan, and obliged him to return to Basle, to the joy of the best part of the society there, and in particular of the bishop, Christopher ab Utenheim. For him he drew up a summary of the chief points of Christian doctrine—deduced not from the fashionable divines of the time, but directly from the sacred scriptures. His fame and influence rapidly advanced: but he had now begun to distrust the reigning doctrines of satisfactions, indulgences, purgatory, and the other figments of popery. He had had in his youth a pious and learned tutor, Paulus Scriptoris, the guardian of his college, or convent: and Gerdes very properly calls us to observe "the admirable providence and mercy of God in effecting the salvation of his people—for 'whom he chose them he also called.' This person," he says, "God had employed as his instrument to prepare Pellican for higher services. He had frequently observed to his scholar, that the time of reformation was certainly at hand, when the thorny and unprofitable theology of the schools would be abandoned, the ancient

<sup>1</sup> Milner iv. 296—302.

doctors of the church listened to, and those of the Sorbonne fall into deserved neglect."—Thus was Pellican gradually prepared to renounce his monastic hood, and his prospects of advancement—though he had now been introduced to Leo X, and made head of the convent of his order, first at Ruffach, and afterwards at Basle; and to prefer the knowledge and dissemination of divine truth to the honours and emoluments of the world. Pellican taught for some time at Basle, and in 1526 removed to Zurich, where he continued till his death in 1556.

Alsace had likewise the honour of giving birth to Wolfgang Fabricius Kœfflin, or Capito. He was born in 1478 at Haguenau, where his father was a member of the senate. His mother was of noble family. His own choice from early life would have led him to the church: but, in compliance with his father's wishes, who disliked the character of the clergy and the theology of the times, he applied himself to medicine, for his skill in which he acquired some celebrity. Indeed he successively proceeded to the degree of doctor in each of the three faculties of physic, divinity, and canon law; having after his father's death reverted to his original choice of the clerical profession. For some time he was professor of philosophy and school learning at Friburg in Brisgau: but he became disgusted with the false science which passed under those names. In 1510 he was invited to Bruchsal by the bishop of Spire, and discharged there the office of preacher for three years. In his excursions from that place to Heidelberg, on commissions given him by the bishop, he formed a friendship with Œcolampadius, then resident in that town, which was interrupted only by the death of the latter. In 1513, on the solicitation of the senate of Basle, he accepted the office of minister of the cathedral church of their city. Erasmus, noticing his appointment, speaks of him as "a profound theologian, a man eminently skilled

in the three learned languages, and of the utmost simplicity and sanctity." When settled at Basle, he lost no time in persuading his friend Œcolampadius to join him there, and thus conferred upon that city one of the greatest blessings it ever received. These two great men, thus united, sowed the first seeds of evangelical truth and reformation, which afterwards produced a rich harvest in the place. Leo X. had formed so high an opinion of Capito, that he, unsolicited, conferred on him "a provostship or deanery," probably that of the cathedral of Basle; but Capito soon resigned it again, feeling "a rich dignity and the duties of a parish minister" to be ill assorted together: and the latter were in his esteem decidedly to be preferred to the former. His eyes were now more and more opening to the discovery of the truth: the mass became offensive to his conscience, and he refused any more to celebrate it. At this time his acquaintance with Zwingle commenced. Now also he prefixed to the treatise of a friend, on the state of the church, an epistle dedicatory to the bishop of Basle, in which he urged the necessity of undertaking a reformation, and vigorously prosecuting the work, without at all despairing of success. The year 1520 removed him to a new and very different scene. He accepted, and, both from his preceding and his subsequent conduct, we are bound to believe from the purest motives, the appointments of ecclesiastical counsellor and chancellor to the archbishop of Mentz, the first prince of the German empire; and was himself raised to the rank of a noble by the emperor Charles V. But he found that his situation did not enable him to accomplish the good which he had expected; and he in consequence, after three years' trial, resigned it, with all the high prospects which it might have opened to him, and went to join Bucer as a humble preacher of the gospel at Strasburg; where he continued till his death in 1541. He was a man of the

most gentle manners, and was devoted to learning; but in subservience to usefulness, not at the expence of it. He was one of those who, in the earlier part of his course, exhorted Luther to more moderate measures than he, happily, consented to adopt. But in after life he perpetually urged Erasmus, who would never speak out, "to throw off the cloke of Nicodemus."

The early part of the life of John Hauschein, or Æcolampadius, was subject to several remarkable changes. He was born in the year 1482, at Winsperg, in Franconia, of a respectable family which had come from Basle. His father originally destined him to business: but his mother, a woman celebrated for her sanctity of life, her beneficence, and her talents, who watched over him with all the anxiety that Augustine's mother had manifested for her son, prevailed with her husband to give him a learned education. He was sent to Heidelberg, and thence to Bologna, to study for the legal profession: but he soon quitted the latter place, returned to Heidelberg, and devoted himself to the study of divinity. From early life his proficiency in learning had been distinguished; and, joined to his amiable and excellent character, it recommended him to the notice of Philip, elector Palatine, who appointed him tutor of his sons. But the life of a courtier did not suit Æcolampadius, and in a few years he quitted that situation, and proposed to return to Heidelberg. But his parents, having now no other child, and seeing him devoted to the church, invested as much of their property as they could spare in founding an ecclesiastical benefice, which their son might hold, at his native town of Winsperg. This post however he for the present retained only six weeks! his too sensitive mind and tender conscience persuading him that he *was not* qualified for such a charge. He visited Tübingen, and then Stutgard, to avail himself, in the latter place, of the assistance of the learned Reuch-

lin, in his Hebrew studies. He then returned to Heidelberg: and after some time ventured to resume his situation at Winsperg, and thus, says his friend Capito, "preached Christ to his countrymen, about the year 1514." In that or the following year, however, Capito, who was now stationed at Basle, persuaded the bishop to invite Æcolampadius thither also. At Basle, besides his labours as a minister, he rendered important service to Erasmus (as that learned man acknowledges in the preface to his work,) in editing, in 1516, the first edition that ever was printed of the Greek New Testament; the publication of which materially contributed to advance the reformation. From Basle, Æcolampadius was ere long called by the canons of Augsburg, to discharge the office of a preacher in that city. But here again his timidity and scrupulosity of mind pursued him, and induced him to resign his situation, as thinking himself quite unequal to contend with the prevailing corruption of manners, and boldly to proclaim the truth to those who felt galled and irritated by it. "I confess," he afterwards writes to a friend, "that I was weak and timid. I ought to have trusted in God, who had called me, and not to have despaired of his giving me 'a mouth and wisdom.'" These traces of fickleness and weakness, in the earlier history of this great man, may teach us the more to admire the power of divine grace, which made him, in after life, so steady, determined, and every way valuable a character. On his retiring from Augsburg, the step he took was much to be regretted, and was strongly deprecated by his friends. He threw himself into a monastery—proposing to spend his future days in retirement and study. He had the precaution, however, to stipulate with the society into which he entered for the liberty of his faith, and of pursuing his studies according to his own pleasure; and also, it would seem, for that of quitting the convent to exercise his ministry, if he should see his

way clear to do it: "for," said he, with the conscientiousness which marked his character, "if I should bind myself by five hundred oaths, I should not be able to keep them, if at any future time I should think myself qualified to be useful as a minister." And all this liberty the Bridgetine monks in the neighbourhood of Augsburg, anxious to gain one who would do so much credit to their order, readily promised him. His friends, and particularly Capito, spared no pains to draw him from this retreat: and, in the course of God's providence, he was even *driven* into compliance with their wishes: for, as he scrupled not to express his sentiments on the controversies which then began to excite universal attention, and on the prevailing errors and abuses of the church, he found that, notwithstanding all his stipulations on entering the place, he was exposed to no small danger from his associates in the monastery, and from other devoted papists, who began even to form plots against his life. Glapio, in particular, the confessor of the emperor Charles V, at the period of the diet of Worms, himself manifested, and excited in others, determined hostility against him. He in consequence quitted his monastery, and betook himself to the castle of the celebrated Francis Sickengen,<sup>1</sup> then the resort of many learned men; and after Sickengen's death, which soon followed, returned to Basle, where he spent the remainder of his days, and where we shall see him becoming "the reformer of that city, and, in conjunction with Zwingli, of Switzerland at large." Grynæus speaks of him as being esteemed "the first man of the age in which he lived for skill in the learned languages, for sound theological erudition, and for exact acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity."

Caspar Hedio was a native of the Marquisate of *Baden*, in Suabia, who laboured long and success-

<sup>1</sup> Milner v. 245, 570.

fully, first at Mentz and then at Strasburg. He studied, and took his doctor's degree, at Basle; and, according to Ruchat, when Capito removed from that city to Mentz, Hedio succeeded him, and preached to the citizens of Basle with indefatigable zeal. This forms his only immediate connexion with Switzerland.

Joachim von Walt, or Vadian, was a distinguished layman, a native of S. Gallen, where he was eight times raised to the consulate, or office of burgomaster. Bullinger styles him "the honour of their common country." He was intimately acquainted with almost every kind of learning; and, having also great talents for business, was employed on various occasions of high importance to the Helvetic body at large. He had studied at Vienna, where he took the degree of doctor of medicine, held a professorship, and rose to the honour of rector of the university. He was also made poet laureat and public orator by the emperor Maximilian, in whose presence, and in that of several crowned heads who met at Vienna in the year 1515, he harangued with great applause. He likewise applied himself to the study of the law. He quitted Vienna, and returned to his own country in the year 1518, and there for some time practised medicine. He zealously, steadily, and with great wisdom and effect promoted the cause of the reformation, presiding at more than one of the great public disquisitions by which its success was so materially advanced in Switzerland. The subject of religion lay near his heart, so that he studied it minutely, and wrote several treatises on the questions which then so much engrossed the public mind. He even once delivered expository lectures on the Acts of the Apostles to a select audience at S. Gallen, the minutes of which, having been taken down by some of his hearers, and communicated to Bullinger, are highly commended by him. Vadian's life, we are told, was closed in a very pious and edifying manner in the year 1551.



Oswald Geisheuser, or Myconius, (who is to be distinguished from Frederic Myconius, the friend and fellow-labourer of Luther,) was a native of Lucerne, born in 1488. He studied at Basle, where he was noticed and assisted by Erasmus and Glareanus. He presided over the public school, first at Basle; and then at Zurich—where we have seen that he was a principal means of introducing Zwingle. He was thence called to take the charge of the school in his native town of Lucerne. Here he laboured to disseminate religious truth, and to promote reformation; and was supported by John Xylotectus, or Zimmerman, and Justus Kilchmeyer, canons of Lucerne. The former of these persons was a man of noble rank, and a canon of Berne, as well as of Lucerne. He was a man of so high a character, as to be styled “the singular honour of his country and of the religion he professed.” The bigotry of his countrymen however banished him, and he died at Basle, of the plague, in the year 1526. Many admitted that what Myconius contended for was Christian and right, but they urged that Zwingle and Myconius had not sufficient influence to restore religion, and replace it upon a right footing, and had therefore better not make the attempt. Indeed, the opposition which he encountered was violent, and in the end overpowering. He wrote to a friend, December 1, 1520, “I live among savage wolves; but I have one comfort, that they most of them want teeth. They would bite if they could, but, as they cannot do that, they bark.” And again: “The cry here is that Luther ought to be burned, and the school-master” (meaning himself,) with him.” And sometime after to Zwingle: “A few days ago I was called before the council, and forbidden either to read or speak of Luther, or even to think of him. And indeed I never did introduce him into the school; nor have I been accustomed to speak of him, or even so to think of him as to wish to instil any thing from him. What need

has any one to do that, who has the gospel, and S. Paul, and the other writers of the New Testament to draw from?" In the year 1522, or 1523, however, he was expelled from Lucerne, and retired to Einsidlin; from whence he was soon after recalled to Zurich, and continued there till after the death of Zwingli, in 1531. He was then called to the charge of a church at Basle, and soon after became the successor of Oecolampadius, both in his professorship and his pulpit; and continued in that situation till his death in 1552. His services to the reformation were great and valuable.

Berthold Haller, the reformer of Berne, was born at Aldingen, about the year 1492. He studied first at Pfortzheim, under Simler, where he had Melancthon for his associate, and then at Cologne. He was appointed to a canonry and preachership in the cathedral of Berne, in the year 1520. He was a man of much eloquence, and his powers as a preacher, added to the excellence of his character, gained him great influence with the citizens. His disposition was naturally timid: but he was fortified by constant intercourse with Zwingli. He had also for the associate of his principles and labours, Sebastian Meyer, a Franciscan, who had formerly been a preacher at Strasburg, and a zealous papist, but was now a reader in divinity among his own order at Berne. By the united efforts of these two persons the Bernese, who had been hostile to the reformation, and incensed at Zurich for the countenance which it gave to the new doctrine, were gradually conciliated, and themselves prepared to admit it.—Meyer also by a Retraction which he wrote from Berne, exposing his own former errors, rendered important service to the reformed at Strasburg.

Thomas and Andrew Blaurer were of a noble family at Constance, and both laboured early in the cause of reformation. The latter, in particular, is distinguished as the reformer of his native city. He

was born in 1492. Inflamed by an early religious zeal, he entered a monastery at Alberspach, in the dutchy of Würtemberg; but by reading Luther's books his views were changed: and, after several contests with his superiors and associates, he quitted his convent, and returned to Constance, and there taught the doctrines which he had learned, to the great annoyance of the canons. With some little interruption he continued his labours at Constance till the Interim, forced upon the city in the year 1548, drove him away; when he retired to Bienne. He lived till the year 1568.

Sebastian Hoffmeister, originally called Wagner, a native of Shaffhausen, (born in 1476,) was also a labourer at Constance, even at an earlier period than Blaurer. He had previously been a reader in divinity at Zurich, where he cultivated the friendship of Zwingle. He removed to his native town, and subsequently to Berne, and thence to Zoffingen.

John Vanner also at an early period maintained the doctrines of the reformation at Constance, and suffered for so doing: "But," he heroically writes to Zwingle, "these things move me not: I would rather be a Christian, exposed to the hatred of multitudes, than desert Christ for the friendship of the world." Vanner removed to Memmingen and was succeeded by Zuiccias from Reutlingen.

To these worthies we may add Balthasar Trachsel, minister of Art, in the canton of Schweitz. He was the first ecclesiastic in Switzerland, at the period of the reformation, who ventured to marry: but in so doing he outran the course of public sentiment, and was in consequence driven from his station. He afterwards however laboured usefully in other situations.

In casting our eye over this list of names, most of them of high renown, all of them of "good report" in the church of Christ, we feel loudly called upon, as in surveying the German reformation, to

adore the good providence and powerful grace of Almighty God, who at this period deigned to look down upon and visit his languishing and almost expiring church, and to raise up even a host of champions, "valiant for the truth," to assail the reigning corruptions, to restore the lost light of the gospel, to illustrate their profession by a holy and devoted life; and thus to effect a great and blessed "deliverance in the earth." "The Lord gave the word, and great was the company of them that published it;" and glorious the success of their labours. With him also is still "the residue of the Spirit:" and we trust that he is again in some more copious measure pouring it upon his church. It is easy for him to call forth those "men of God by whom Jacob shall arise," and his church, even in its most decayed parts be revived and restored to primitive purity and beauty, not only in the ancient scenes of the reformation, but even in places which the reformation never reached, or where it was almost instantly extinguished. "Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence, give him no rest, until he establish, and till he make" his church "a praise in the earth."

One thing with which we cannot fail to be struck, in these heroes of the reformation, is the high character which most of them possessed for talent and learning. A great proportion of them had flattering prospects opening before them, on account of their celebrity of this kind—all which they willingly sacrificed, and "counted loss for Christ." But we see that their acquirements told, with the most powerful effect, in the great work which God had excited them to undertake. These gave a weight to their character, and an authority to their decisions, which could not otherwise have been attained: they enabled them to bring the scriptures to light, to render them, by translation, *accessible to the people*, and to restore *the true interpretation of them*; to beat down their

enemies in argument, and to refute them in their favourite appeal to antiquity; in short, to recover the ancient faith of the church of Christ, uncorrupted by novelties and extravagances, whether their own or those of other teachers. Without their high literary attainments, humanly speaking, they could never have been qualified for the work which they performed. Let sound learning never be undervalued. Let it never be surmised that it is not conducive to the service of God. The pride of learning, and the abuse of learning, are fatal evils; and without the possession of it, no doubt, the man of devoted piety, with merely the vernacular scriptures in his hand, may be even eminently useful; but there are higher and more extensive spheres of service for which he is clearly not qualified. Learning, when employed not for ostentation, but for use; not to set up human wisdom in opposition to divine revelation; but humbly, patiently, and laboriously to trace out, to exhibit, to assert, and to defend the revealed truth of God, and to apply it to all the varied purposes for which it was made known; is of the highest value. And let every younger student remember, that he knows not to what scene of service he is destined: let it be his humble aim, depending upon and seeking the divine blessing, to become as well qualified as possible for whatever station it shall please God to open before him. And, in this view, let him duly consider the diligent study, the indefatigable labour and the patient zeal of these great and good men—who, devoted to learning as they ever were, yet did not pursue it for its own sake, or lose themselves in a contemplative life, but denied themselves, and studied, and prayed without ceasing, in order that they might *act* with wisdom and success, to the glory of God, and the highest good of their fellow men. Therefore “their memory is blessed.”

*Finally, it is delightful to observe the cordial union which subsisted among these good men. This has*

can be noticed as a peculiarly gratifying feature of the Swiss reformation. These eminent persons were all men and faithful friends even unto death; and not a discordant note is heard among them. They acted in union, and were ever ready to counsel, to admonish, encourage, and to help one another. "A good and pleasant thing it is for brethren" thus "to dwell together in unity." It makes the church secure as a city that is at concord within itself," and fitted, as an army with banners," to subdue the world, by spiritual weapons to "the obedience of faith." Happy had it been if the same cordiality had subsisted between the two great branches of the reformation, as between the several members of this, and indeed we might say of either branch, separately considered, among themselves.

## CHAPTER II.

*Mercenary warfare—Opposition to the Reformation—  
Writings of Zwingli—Progress of the Reformation.*

THE SWISS, since the time they shook off the Austrian yoke, and formed their general confederation, have scarcely been engaged, as principals, in war with any foreign power; but, as furnishing troops to other belligerents, they have borne a part in a great proportion of the wars of Europe. Their plan has been with the exception, since the reformation, of the protestant cantons, to accept pensions from various foreign states, and in consideration of them, when called upon, to furnish those states with certain contingents of troops. Besides this, individuals have been allowed to receive similar payments, for enlisting soldiers in their country to recruit the armies of their paymasters. The consequence of this regulation has been, that numerous volunteers of the same country have been seen marching against one another in opposite armies. The acceptance of the pensions is a lamentable derogation from the boast of independence of the Swiss: and though various political considerations are urged to shew the expediency of the plan, the morality of it seems but too well summed up in the description, "engaging for money to cut the throats of men with whom they have no quarrel," personal or public. Against this crying evil, the national sin of his country, as he and we

good men esteemed it, and one which was productive of the worst moral effects among the people, Zwingle had long before lifted up his voice. But the circumstances of the times now enabled him to make a more solemn and effective protest against it: and Zurich, influenced by his spirited remonstrances, refused its concurrence in the resolution of the other cantons to assist, in this way, the king of France against the emperor and the pope; and even exacted an oath from the citizens that they would accept no largesses from any foreign power. This dissent of Zurich from the general vote of the cantons, and implied condemnation of their conduct, with certain consequences which followed, produced, in some of the other states, a deeply-seated and lasting resentment against that canton. It excited also much secret disaffection in the minds of many of the citizens of Zurich, who felt that a fruitful source of their private gains was cut off. Some months after, the war with France being on the point of breaking out, the pope demanded troops from the cantons, but was met by a refusal: and with such lasting effects were the exertions of Zwingle and his associates in other cantons followed upon this subject, that till the year 1777 "none of the protestant states received any pensions from France;" and then only "the protestants of Glaris and Appenzel, and the town of Bienne."<sup>1</sup>

Zwingle about this time received an additional testimony of the esteem in which he was held at Zurich, in his election to a canonry in the cathedral, vacant by the resignation of Henry Engelhardt, a person of eminence, and a favourer of the reformation, who was also pastor of the Abbey Church. Zwingle's appointment was announced to him by a letter from the authorities of the city, bearing an honourable testimony to his character and services. Those more elevated situations however, which we

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, *Let.* 21.



are apt to covet, whether in the church or in civil life, seldom add to the happiness of their possessors; and accordingly Zwingle found this station involve him in new cares, and expose him to new vexations. In a letter to Haller, chiefly treating of some case of conscience, he thus describes the incessant engagements which pressed upon him. "The hurry of business and the care of the churches occupy me to such a degree, that Dr. Engelhardt lately told me, he wondered that I had not before this time become distracted. For instance, I have been ten times called off since I began this letter. From Suabia they write to me for what I am not competent to perform for them; though I do what I can. From every part of Switzerland I am applied to by those who are in difficulties for Christ's sake. If however any thing occurs in which I can be of use to you, do not spare me—for I hope for more leisure. . . . Put a candid construction on what I write: but do not set down for oracles what I send merely as the offerings of goodwill. I only suggest what may give an impulse to your own thoughts." One while he even felt himself so much harassed as to entertain thoughts of relinquishing his situation: but shortly after his confidence in God revived, and we find him writing in a noble spirit to his friend Myconius, as one prepared to despise all difficulties and encounter all dangers rather than desert his post. "Such," says he, "are the storms that beat upon the house of God and threaten to overthrow it, that, unless the Lord himself had evidently appeared to watch over it, should long since have given it up for lost. But when I see that the vessel of the church is in every case piloted and controlled by him, and that he ever commands the winds and the waves, I should be coward indeed, and unworthy the name of a man, should I disgracefully ruin myself by quitting my station. I therefore commit myself entirely to his care and kindness."

Among the individuals who about this time derived great benefit from intercourse with Zwingle, was Francis Lambert,<sup>1</sup> a native of Avignon, and a Franciscan of the strictest class, who had been for fifteen years a professor of divinity in his own country. To a certain extent he had become acquainted with the truths of the gospel, and he appears, like Apollos, to have been "an eloquent man," and full of zeal to communicate to others what he had learned himself. Having been compelled to quit his home for his religion's sake, he had come into Switzerland, and preached earnestly at Geneva, Lausanne, and other places. He was well received by the bishop of Lausanne, Sebastian de Montfauçon, obtained considerable influence over him, and seemed for the time to have made a very hopeful impression upon his mind. But that prelate, like his brother of Constance, as the reformation proceeded and incurred odium, drew back, and ranged himself among its opponents.—From Lausanne Lambert proceeded to Friburg, and thence to Berne; where Haller gave him letters of introduction to Zwingle, at Zurich. In the German part of Switzerland he could preach only in Latin; which he did with much acceptance to such as were capable of understanding him. But he needed himself to be "taught the way of God more perfectly;" and happily he was open to conviction, and willing to learn. Among the errors which he still retained, was the doctrine of the intercession of the saints; which he accordingly preached at Zurich. Zwingle remonstrated against it, and Lambert begged to discuss the question more fully with the reformed teachers. He did so, and was convinced of his error: on which, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, he blessed God for his further grace thus bestowed on him. Henceforth he laid aside his Franciscan habit. He afterwards went into Saxony,

<sup>1</sup> *Lutheran Ref.* vol. i. p. 356-7.

where the elector, at Luther's instance, assigned him a pension. He soon after married, and removed to Strasburg, and finally into Hesse, where he materially assisted the landgrave in the reformation of his country in the year 1526. By him he was made professor of divinity at Marburg, where he died in the year 1530.

Hitherto the Swiss reformers had encountered no public or systematic opposition; but we now begin to find various authorities in church and state combining to stay their progress. In the year 1522 several citizens of Zurich, acting upon the lessons they had received concerning Christian liberty, and the unscriptural impositions of the Romish church, ventured to neglect the prohibition of meat during Lent, without having applied for a dispensation—a liberty which Zwingle himself had never yet taken. Christopher Froschouer, a celebrated printer, the first who introduced a press into Zurich, is mentioned as one of the number. This conduct gave great offence, and some of the clergy commenced a prosecution, before the magistrates, against these contemners of “the laws of the church.” The bishop of Constance also, having been apprised of what had taken place, despatched a deputation, at the head of which was Faber, who were to address themselves both to the magistrates and to the chapter, commanding the latter to support their brethren in the prosecution of so flagrant an offence. The deputation demanded to be heard before the grand council; a demand which was complied with upon the condition, enforced by the general voice of the citizens, that the three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Roeschlin should be present, and should have the liberty of reply. With great reluctance the deputies acceded to this condition, and Faber delivered a pompous harangue against certain persons, (without naming any,) who wished to abolish all the commandments and ceremonies of the church—the removal of which

might be expected to draw after it the subversion of the Christian faith itself. He then urged the charge against the offending citizens, who had occasioned "scandal to the whole world;" exhorting the magistrates to steadfastness in their attachment to the church—"out of which there was no salvation;" and concluding with the declaration, that "the ceremonies were the only means of leading the people in the way to heaven." Zwingle replied, "that what S. Peter had said of the ceremonies of the Jews might well be applied to those of the church of Rome, that they were 'a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear:' that it was not by means of ceremonies, but by the promulgation of the word of God, after the example set us by Jesus Christ and his apostles, that the people must be guided in the way to heaven: that, during the sixteen years that he had officiated in the diocese of Constance, the bishop had never once sent any deputation like the present, for the purpose of shewing how the word of God ought to be preached; and that he could not but be astonished that he should now treat, as of so much consequence, the omission, on the part of a few simple citizens, of an insignificant observance, which he (the speaker) would undertake to prove, from the scriptures and the fathers, was not binding on the consciences of Christians." In the end, the council came to a conclusion not very satisfactory to the deputation, That the bishop should be requested to assemble the divines of his diocese, or, if practicable, to obtain the decision of a council, both as to the present question, and as to the real cause of the dissensions complained of; that, in the mean time, the people should be exhorted to abstain from meat during Lent; and that those who refused to do so, without urgent cause, should be punished.

These proceedings drew from the pen of Zwingle his first publication, a small work on "the Distinc-

tion of Meats," including a consideration of the question of "Offences and Scandals." As a *writer*, therefore, in the cause of the reformation, Zwingli was posterior to Luther by four or five years.

The following month the bishop, through the medium of Faber, addressed a long mandate, or exhortation, to the clergy and the magistrates of his diocese, and another specially to the provost and chapter of Zurich, the object of which, as far as Zurich was concerned, evidently was to procure the dismissal of Zwingli—though still without naming him. They were accompanied by copies of the pope's bull and of the edict of Worms against Luther. The writer deplored the divisions of the church, and that, in contempt of the edicts of the pope and the emperor, teachers, "prompted by the spirit of the devil, and acting only from motives of private ambition, preached against the ceremonies which had been ever in use in the church;" and that the magistrates also were divided, and did not act the part which became them.—This mandate was ordered to be read by the clergy from the pulpit every Sunday and holiday.

About the same time, the cantons, assembled at Lucerne, and influenced in part by these admonitions of the bishop of Constance, issued a decree prohibiting the teaching of "the new doctrine," as they styled it: and, having learned that the council of Baden had established a *preacher* in their town, they required the appointment to be cancelled, as a dangerous innovation; though they had themselves, a few months before, set a similar precedent at Neuchâtel.

Encouraged by these examples of their superiors, the monks of Zurich, of the three orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians, preferred complaints against Zwingli before the magistrates, as "*incessantly attacking them, and rendering them odious to the people.*" They acknowledged that they

on their part had not spared him; but, if he did not restrain his hostilities, they avowed that they should be driven to adopt more violent measures. They had a strong party favourable to them in the council; who so far prevailed as to procure an order prohibiting all "preaching or disputing against the monks." As this order was but ill observed, and controversial subjects still continued to occupy the pulpit, the two senior pastors, Zwingle and Engelhardt, on the one side, and, on the other, the readers in the convents, were called before a commission of the council, who enjoined them not to preach on topics which might foment discord; at least not without previously communicating to the chapter the subjects which they proposed to discuss. Zwingle avowed his determination not to comply with this order; declaring that, agreeably to the decree of the sovereign council, and the oath which he had taken, he was resolved to preach the word of God without restriction: and the resolution which he manifested appears to have prevented any further attempt to fetter him. The monks, on the other hand, pleaded to be authorized to preach any doctrine drawn from Aquinas and Scotus: but this was refused them: and the whole happily ended in the renewal of the order, that nothing should be introduced into the pulpit which could not be clearly proved from the written word of God.

These transactions drew from Zwingle several publications. In the beginning of July, he, in the name of himself and his brethren, addressed to the members of the Helvetic Confederation, at large, a "Pious and Friendly Exhortation," entreating them "not to obstruct the preaching of the gospel, or discountenance the marriage of the clergy." In this work he explains the nature of the gospel; represents its great necessity generally, as alone discovering the way of salvation, and supplying to sinful and suffering mankind the consolation of which they stand in need; and its special necessity at that time,

and in that country, where it had been long buried in oblivion. He then shews that this salutary doctrine is to be drawn from the scriptures alone; and points out in what manner faithful teachers were to be distinguished from false ones. "He who, neglecting his private interest, spares neither pains nor labour to cause the will of God to be known and revered, to bring sinners to repentance, and to give consolation to the afflicted, is undoubtedly in unison with Christ. But, when you see teachers daily presenting to the veneration of the people new saints, whose favour must be gained by offerings; and when the same teachers continually hold forth the extent of the sacerdotal power, and the authority of the pope: you may believe that they think much more of their own profit, than of the care of the souls entrusted to them." He then asserts that the gospel was making progress so that no human power could stay its course: and he concludes this part of his address with avowing the purpose and hope of himself and his associates, to publish it to their countrymen in a way against which no just exception could be taken. Then, adverting to the scandalous lives of the ecclesiastics as one great prejudice to the cause of religion, he proceeds to plead against the prohibition of marriage to the clergy—a comparatively modern device, designed to aggrandize the church by breaking the ties which should attach the ministers of religion to their country, rendering them strangers to the domestic affections, and thus concentrating all their zeal upon the interests of the particular body to which they belonged; and, at the same time, a force, upon nature, productive of unbounded licentiousness—of which the cantons had shewn themselves so sensible, that "in some of them the priests were *required* to keep concubines, and every where that practice was permitted for money."

At the same time he addressed a "Supplication" to certain Swiss Ministers to the Bishop of Con-

stance," which had the same objects, and was to the same purport. It is remarkable as bearing the signatures of *eleven* zealous advocates of reformation in Switzerland—some of whose names here meet us for the first time.

About six weeks after appeared a work of Zwingle's, which has obtained more celebrity—his "Archeteles," or the Beginning and the End; in other words, a summary of the main points at issue between the reformers and their opponents. This work also is addressed to the bishop of Constance, and is an answer, paragraph by paragraph, to that prelate's late mandate to the chapter of Zurich. The Archeteles, says Gerdes, "exhibits a true picture of the Zwinglian reformation—very different from what it has been represented by many writers." This work was highly esteemed, not only in Switzerland, but in foreign countries, as proving the author to be "mighty in the scriptures," and one who united an intrepid courage with true Christian moderation. It is the same work from which we have, in the preceding chapter, given the author's own account of his preaching at Zurich, from the time of his first settlement in that city. The following is a portion of the devout and beautiful prayer with which Zwingle closes this work: "On thee therefore I call, O blessed Lord, to perform the work, which thou hast begun, unto the day of thy coming. If I have ever built up any thing erroneously, do thou throw it down. If I have laid any other foundation than thyself, do thou subvert it. Let thy flock, taught and imbued with thy Spirit, come to know that it can never be wanting in any thing while it is guided and fed by thee, its true pastor and bishop. For thou, O Son of God, art the protector and advocate of all that hope in thee.... Thou therefore, O most blessed Vine, whose dresser is the Father, and we the branches, forsake not thy plantation, thy building! Thou hast promised to be *with us even unto the end of the world*; and hast bid



us, when brought before kings and rulers, to be without carefulness, for that the Spirit shall teach us in the same hour what we ought to speak ; so that even the unwilling may hear the testimony concerning thee. Put therefore into the mouth of all thy servants, who seek thy glory, and hallow thy name, ' sound speech,' that they may utter before the princes of this world those things which shall be acceptable in thy sight, and serviceable to miserable mortals ! Thus shall we, who are members one of another, and one body in thee our sole and ever-living head, become thy one spouse, betrothed to thee, having neither spot nor wrinkle ; and *she* shall be forsaken,<sup>1</sup> who is made up of corruptions and defilements, on account of which the name of God is blasphemed : O Thou who livest and reignest, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, One God, for ever and ever. Amen."

But another work of Zwingle's, published at this time, or rather an introductory letter prefixed to it, which has already been mentioned, must not be passed unnoticed. The work is merely a sermon on the character and history of the Virgin Mary, whom he was charged with reviling in the grossest manner, because he refused her the divine honours so impiously paid her by the papists. But his inscription of it to his *five brothers*, in a copious epistle, exhibits many interesting traits of his character and principles. His brothers, it seems, manifested great uneasiness at the shocking reports which were propagated concerning him, and indeed much distrust of the whole course which he was pursuing ; and they wished to see and confer with him on the subject. He in return expresses the most sincere affection for them, and assures them that he took such interest in their concerns as to leave himself uninformed of nothing which related to them. When he

<sup>1</sup> No dubious hint concerning utter separation from Rome.

heard of their applying themselves diligently to their honest callings in life, after the example of their fathers, particularly the ancient and honourable pursuit of agriculture, it gave him the greatest satisfaction: but, when he heard of any of their number giving into the practice of mercenary warfare, and hiring themselves out to shed blood, "a service of which Satan was the author, and which not only destroyed temporal life, but exposed the soul to eternal damnation;" then no words could express the anguish he felt on their account. He trusted, however, that the mercy and grace of God would restrain or reclaim them from such a course. "And I hope," he says, "you will entertain the like good confidence concerning me. For, as far as the divine goodness shall enable me, I will not cease to discharge faithfully and diligently the duties entrusted to me, unmoved by the fear of the world, and the powerful tyrants of the world, who will never allow the salutary preaching of the word of God to soften their hard hearts, and bring down their proud spirits. With respect to myself, I am not at all solicitous: for I have long since committed myself and all that concerns me to the providence of God . . . Be assured there is no kind of evil which can befall me, that I have not fully taken into my account, and am not prepared to meet. I know indeed that my strength is perfect weakness. I know also the power of those with whom I have undertaken to contend. But, as S. Paul says concerning himself, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me.' I know that no one can guide a soul into the way of salvation divinely provided for us, without the Spirit and power of God. But, if I should desert the service assigned me, some one else would be found to take it up, whom God would impel forward to perform that which he now effects by my means—while I should incur the just and fatal punishment due to the *disobedient son, who said to his father, 'I go, Sir,*

and went not.' It is God's purpose to recover this corrupt world, and to purify the depraved manners of the age in which we live, by the manifestation of his word. And who can contemplate either the horrible wickedness and the perversion of religion that prevail; or the immense goodness of Almighty God, who deigns to offer himself and all his blessings to lost mankind, and seeks to reclaim from the ruin, in which sin has involved him, the noble work of his hands, which he hath formed, and, when fallen, restored—having redeemed him from eternal damnation, at the price of his own blood: who, I say, that has the office of preaching the word of God committed to him, can contemplate these things, and yet yield to the impious opposition of the ungodly, and surcease his labours? God forbid! For then, as the Lord threatens his prophet, the blood of souls would be required at his hand. But suppose, in the discharge of his duty, a man should incur all that the world can do to him; all the mockery and insult, all the infamy that it can heap upon him, and in the end a cruel and ignominious death: I leave you to judge what ought to be *my* choice in such a case. Would you have me connive at all the enormous wickedness which God has commanded me to extirpate, and thus purchase the temporary and perishing repose of this life, at the expence of the loss of my soul, and everlasting damnation? No: but you will say, 'I might reprove sin with mildness and moderation.' My dearest brothers, is the wickedness of the world so moderate and venial, that you think my reproofs of it more severe than the occasion calls for? If you do think so, you mistake most grievously. The enormities of our times are so great, that the most cutting words of the prophets, and the severest judgments of the divine anger, are unequal to them. They call for a Jonas to proclaim, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be destroyed.' Lay aside, I beseech you, all your cares and anxiety upon this

head. I much more fear being too mild and gentle for the exigencies of the times, than assailing the world too roughly and severely. Bear patiently my lot; which is, at the cost of fame, of honour, of liberty, or perhaps of this wretched life itself, to be the instrument of eternal salvation to numerous souls; and myself, by the power of divine grace, to become the heir of a blissful immortality!—But you say, ‘What a disgrace would it be, and with what infamy would it brand our whole family, should you be brought to the stake as a heretic, or otherwise suffer an ignominious death? and what profit could result from it?’ My dear brothers, hear my answer. Christ the Saviour and Lord of all, whose soldier I am, hath said, ‘Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man’s sake. Rejoice in that day, and leap for joy, for behold your reward is great in heaven.’ Hence learn, that the more my name is branded with infamy in this world for the Lord’s sake, the more will it be had in honour in the sight of God himself.—And the same sentiment you ought to form concerning yourselves also. . . . Whoever therefore would (at last) come to God, and be united with him, must learn to regard God alone and his will, and not his fellow mortals, who, so far from securing the happiness of those that follow them, cannot save them from eternal damnation. They may prevail to kill the body, but the soul they cannot touch. And by doing the former they only bring upon themselves a worse destruction, though they be kings or emperors, bishops, cardinals, or popes. . . . Christ the Son of God condescended to shed his blood for our salvation: he therefore is a cowardly soldier of Christ, and unworthy the name, who would not willingly sacrifice his life for the glory of his commander; but rather, like one who basely casts away his shield, contemplates disgraceful flight.”

Zwingle then adverts more particularly to the reproaches cast upon him, and introduces the explanation, before given, respecting the pensions he had formerly received from the pope. He adds some remarks relative to the discourse which he now publishes, and then draws to a conclusion, as follows: "You are my own brothers, born of the same mother, and as such I acknowledge you: if then you will not be my brothers in Christ, and in the matter of faith and religion, I must regret it with the deepest pain and grief; for the sentence of Christ our Saviour requires us to leave such, and to forsake even father and mother who would withdraw us from our faith in him. Rely on the word of God with an unhesitating and assured mind. But know that the word of God is not what every pastor or other ecclesiastic may deliver to you, but what God has attested in the scriptures, and suggests to the mind by one who teaches under the influence of his Spirit. Then there is nothing which you may not promise yourselves from the grace and goodness of God.—Remember also that this life is a vale of trials and tears, not a theatre of joy and pleasures. Think it not then a hardship to bear your share of poverty and suffering; and seek relief by no improper means. Carry all your sorrows and complaints to Christ: pour out your prayers before him; seek from him alone grace, peace, and the remission of sins. Finally, be joined to Christ by such an intimate tie and bond of union, that he may be one with you, and you with him; that you may know that he is your brother, and may speak to him as such: for this alone is true and devout prayer. God grant, that, being received under his guardian care, you may be led by his Spirit, and be under his teaching! Amen.—I will never cease to be your faithful brother, if only you will be the brethren of Christ."

The personal dangers to which Zwingle was now exposed were so great, that the magistrates were in-

duced to station a guard at his house. Repeated attempts are said to have been made to poison him. Myconius mentions the following among various plots which were formed to assassinate him. Two monks came late in the evening to his house, and requested to speak with him: when his servant, having desired him not too readily to present himself, stepped forward, and was immediately attacked by the strangers; who, on finding their mistake, hastily retreated. Thus did providence protect him from the hand of the secret assassin, no less than from open and legalized violence.

The same good providence continued to raise him up helpers, and to strengthen his hands against the time of more urgent need. We have seen the bold and open part which Engelhardt took with him. He this year acquired the assistance of John Stumpf, and also drew to him at Zurich his old friends Leo Jude and Myconius. Stumpf was the earliest historian of Switzerland: and his Chronicle is still held in esteem. He was a native of Bruchsal, near Spire; and received his education at Heidelberg, and Friburg in Brisgau. He took orders at Basle, and was called, in 1522, to the cure of Bubikon in the canton of Zurich, which he served usefully for twenty-one years. He afterwards became pastor of Stamheim; and when he found age advancing upon him retired to the city of Zurich, where he died, at the age of sixty-six, in the year 1566.—Leo Jude was at Zwingle's instance repeatedly invited from Einsidlin to preach at S. Peter's church in Zurich, the appointment to which was in the hands of the principal parishioners. They felt themselves so much edified by his discourses, that they earnestly pressed him to take the charge of their parish, in the place of their pastor Roeschlin, now become incapable through age. Myconius, soon after his being driven from Lucerne, was recalled, as we have seen, to Zurich, where he was placed at the head of the acade-

mical institution which Zwingle had been the means of establishing.

Zwingle also at this time carried, though not without considerable difficulty, some important measures for the reformation of manners at Zurich. He induced the magistrates to remove from the city all women known to be of loose and abandoned character, and to abolish those asylums which the Roman-catholic churches often afforded to all criminals, without distinction.

A journey which Zwingle at this time took may be mentioned to his honour. It was to Basle, to obtain an interview with Erasmus, and to endeavour to dissuade that learned but undecided man from writing against Luther, which he was much importuned to do by the pope and other high personages. Zwingle would fain have prevailed with him not to retract what he had done in favour of the reformation, and have inspired him with courage rather to espouse its cause decidedly and boldly. It is superfluous to add, that his efforts were unavailing.

At this period also occurred the first instance of direct violence by which the reformation was opposed in Switzerland. The pastors of a district on the lake of Zurich, assembled at Rappersweil, came to the unanimous resolution of preaching no doctrine which they could not prove from the scriptures. In consequence of this resolution, John Urban Wyss, pastor of Visisbach, in the county of Baden, preached against the invocation of the saints; and for so doing was thrown into prison. Ruohat says that this was done by order of the cantons; but Scultetus informs us it was the bishop of Constance who imprisoned him: and we shall find that that prelate certainly held him in custody in the following year.

While these things were taking place in connexion with Zurich, the seeds of reformation began to shoot forth in other parts of Switzerland, though they were frequently checked as by an unkindly soil and edi-

mate. At Basle, William Reublin, a native of Rotenburg on the Neckar, and pastor of S. Alban's church, preached the gospel with so much acceptance, that he is said to have been usually attended by four thousand hearers. The sovereign council stirred up by the bishop of the place and the clergy, banished him the city, in spite of the earnest solicitations of the citizens in his behalf. But John Luthard, another preacher of the reformed doctrine, maintained his ground, and was soon after joined by Eccolampadius. S. Gallen also enjoyed the light of the gospel by means of the ministry of Benedict Burgawer, pastor of the parish of S. Laurence, and his assistant Wolfgang Wetter. But these persons would probably have been reduced to silence but for the support afforded them by the excellent Vadian, who at this time delivered his lectures on the Acts of the Apostles. At Constance, in addition to Vanner, above-mentioned, two other persons, named Windner and Metzler, are said to have preached the truth, previously to Blaurer's settlement in that place. At Waldshut on the Rhine, Balthasar Hubmeyer preached with zeal and success in 1522: but two years afterwards he unhappily fell into the errors of the Anabaptists; in consequence of which the reformation at Waldshut failed. Among the Grisons also, "associates" or "confederates" of the cantons, promoters of reformation arose. Biveroni is celebrated as having rendered great services to the churches of his country, not only by preaching, but by translating the scriptures into the language of Upper Engadina—a dialect of the Romansh, in which it would seem that no work had previously been published.

Haller has been mentioned as the reformer of Berne, where he took up his residence in the year 1520. His labours there were attended with success, but he encountered much opposition; for the Bernese were originally devoted to the see of Rome. Haller, we observed, was naturally timid; and we find him at



this time so much affected with the difficulties of his situation, as to entertain serious thoughts of quitting it. Zwingli wrote to him, urging him not to think of deserting his flock, and describing to him his own conflicts, and the manner in which he had found his courage revived, and his resolution strengthened. At the same time he gave him the most temperate and prudent counsel. "Do you yourself," he says, "execute boldly what you apply to me to do for you; that your fierce bears"—alluding to the arms of Berne in which the bear is conspicuous—"may be tamed by the gospel of Christ. You must proceed, however, with great mildness and gentleness: for that will not do with you, which will with us. The ears of your people are more delicate; and therefore must not be addressed in so pungent a manner. Christ himself suggests to us counsel of this sort, when he says, 'Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they turn again and rend you,' and be for ever prejudiced against the gospel. You must treat them therefore with caution, and bear their rudeness, till, overcome by your patience and perseverance, they put off their fierce nature. Peter sets us the example, saying, 'I wot that through ignorance ye did it:' and Paul, in feeding those with 'milk,' who were not able to bear 'strong meat.' All the apostles likewise submitted patiently to harsh treatment; not reproaching the council, when they were beaten with stripes. They did not however cease to preach. Thus I entreat you to 'become all things to all men,' lest, along with yourself Christ also should be driven away. . . . And, while my name is in bad repute among your people, bear that also, lest your own reputation with me should suffer by your refusing to do it."

This letter Haller acknowledged with the warmest expressions of gratitude. It had fortified his mind, he said, against every species of trial. Without it, he believed he should have given up his ministry, and retired to Basle to pursue his studies in quiet.

"But," he proceeds, "roused by your delightful letter, I have resumed my courage, and have persuaded myself, by the aid of your truly Christian exhortation, that it is better, even in these times of calamity, to preach the gospel, than to bury myself in learned studies, be they what they may; till, by the power of God working mightily with his word, I prove the means of bringing back Christ, who has been excluded and banished from amongst us by monkish fooleries."

Berne lay within the diocese of Lausanne: and soon after this time the bishop, a man of loose manners and devoted to his pleasures, acting perhaps in concert with his brother of Constance, wrote to the lords of Berne, to the same purport as we have seen that the latter prelate did to those of Zurich, calling upon them to put down the teachers of the new doctrine. Haller and his brethren, after the example of Zwingle, replied to the bishop's letter; but their answer has not been preserved. The hostility now manifested by the Roman-catholic clergy, stimulated by the mandate of their bishop, was extreme. They tore the books of the reformers from the hands of the people; endeavoured to blast the characters of the authors by the foulest calumnies; and even demanded of the magistrates that the sacraments and the rites of burial should be refused to those who read "evangelical books," or opposed the doctrines of the church of Rome. The hands of Haller, however, were strengthened by the coöperation of Sebastian Meyer,<sup>1</sup> who as a reader or professor of divinity among the Franciscans, lectured on S. Paul's epistles, and from the pulpit preached on the several articles of the creed. Both he and Haller were also encouraged amid their difficulties by finding that they had the support of several members of the sovereign council, some canons of the cathedral, and a numerous body of the citizens.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 29.

Attempts in favour of reformation, but not attended with a successful issue, were made in Lucerne—which still continues the first of the Roman-catholic cantons of Switzerland. An annual procession, followed by a Latin oration, was observed at the town of Lucerne, in commemoration of a great fire which had happened there. In the year 1522, Conrad Fabricius, or Schmidt, commander or commendator of Kusnacht,<sup>1</sup> on the lake of Zurich, being present at this solemnity, was called upon to deliver the oration; which he did, not in the Latin, but in the German language, that it might be generally understood; and he directed his discourse against indulgences, pilgrimages, and the authority of the pope, and taught clearly the doctrine of the grace of God in Christ. He was eagerly listened to at the time; but his doctrine was afterwards assailed from the pulpit by the pastor of the town. About the same time a priest of Lucerne having seduced a married woman, and then killed her husband when he reclaimed her, Justus Kilchmeyer, a canon of the place, preached against the prohibition of marriage to the clergy, as the true source of such atrocities: but the consequence was, that the year following he was compelled to resign his canonry and quit the town. Sebastian Hoffman also, of Strasburg, a Minorite monk, having preached at Lucerne against the invocation of the saints, was excommunicated by the bishop of the diocese, and forced to betake himself to flight. It was at this time that Myconius was dismissed.

In the canton of Zug, Bartholomew Stocker, Werner Steiner, and Justus Müller are mentioned as labouring with faithfulness and patience, amid opposition and discouragement. Steiner is known as the author of a history of the reformation. He was also one of the translators of the Swiss German Bible.—Sebastian Hoffman, on quitting Lucerne, re-

<sup>1</sup> "Teutonicus ordinis Commendator."

moved to Schaffhausen. He and Sebastian Hofmeister,<sup>1</sup> both of them Franciscans, there laboured harmoniously together, the former preaching in the cathedral, the latter in the church of his order; and proved the instruments of permanently establishing the reformation.—In the canton of Appenzel, the writings of Luther and other reformers produced so powerful an effect, as to excite no fewer than twenty-six ecclesiastics, at this early period, to avow similar sentiments. By much the greater part of this canton to the present day professes the reformed faith.—At Friburg, which ultimately rejected the reformation, several persons of influence were at this time found to plead its cause.—At Soleure, which, like Friburg, continues a Roman-catholic canton, Zwingle had partisans; particularly Melchior Macrinus, a man of learning, and secretary to the government. In the year 1522, Macrinus entered into a discussion with some priests, and the dean of Burgdorf, at the convent of Fraubrunnen, in the canton of Berne. The principal subjects of dispute were, the mass, and the power of the priests to offer a propitiatory sacrifice therein. Macrinus would acknowledge no sacrificing priest but Jesus Christ, nor any other propitiatory sacrifice than that which *he* had offered on the cross. The priests in consequence threatened to proceed against him on a charge of heresy. But it is remarkable that the magistrates of Soleure interfered on his behalf, and proposed, if the parties could not agree, to call in the aid of Zwingle and other learned men to decide between them. In the end, Meyer, of Berne, supported Macrinus so vigorously, that the affair terminated much to the satisfaction of the latter; and he wrote to Zwingle with great animation, assuring the reformer that they had many persons at Soleure who concurred in their sentiments.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 40.

Thus, on its revival at the reformation, as on its first promulgation in the world, the gospel was every where opposed and persecuted, but every where made converts, and was attended with success, in a greater or less degree. Offensive as it may be to the prejudices and corrupt propensities of mankind, it has that in it which "commends itself to every man's conscience, as in the sight of God." And, just as at its first propagation the superstitions and abominations of heathenism fell before it, so did the mummeries and impostures, and, we must add, the idolatries of popery shew themselves unable to stand against it, when it was restored, and preached anew, with a measure of the same blessing of heaven accompanying it. Nay, the delusions which had prevailed did but prepare many to welcome more thankfully the "great light" which thus arose upon them: for, though weak, erring, and depraved human nature readily admits the impostures which "the god of this world" practises upon it, and, even when it groans under their effects, is not able "to deliver itself, or say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" yet, when God himself arises to its aid, and sets his truth before men, they cannot but do homage to its superior excellence, and confess it to be infinitely more worthy of their regard, than that which had hitherto engrossed them. "What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord. Is not my word like as a fire? and like the hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" There will indeed always be those who will withstand it—men who "love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil;" "in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them:" but God also will himself provide, wherever he sends his word, men of another stamp, to whom the gospel shall prove "the power of God unto salvation." His word "shall not return unto him

void, but shall accomplish that which he pleaseth, and shall prosper in the thing whereto he sendeth it." To some, indeed, it becomes "the savour of death unto death;" but to others it is "the savour of life unto life." Be it the care of each of us, that we may be found among the latter class. And for this end let it be our continual prayer, that "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, would shine into our hearts;" and, purging thence all carnal and corrupt affections, which blind and bewilder the mind, would "give us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," that we may be "changed into his image from glory to glory," till at length we come to "his presence, where is fulness of joy, and pleasures at his right hand for evermore.'

## CHAPTER III.

*Disputations of Zurich—Progress of Reformation—  
Martyrdoms of Hottinger and the Wirths—Writings  
of Zwingle—Translation of the Scriptures.*

THE commencement of the year 1523 was marked by the occurrence of the first of those public disputations, or discussions, which so materially advanced the progress of the reformation in Switzerland. Zwingle, finding himself more and more assailed, especially by the Dominican friars, with the charges of heresy, and of teaching principles subversive of the church, and of the good order of society, addressed himself to the supreme council of Zurich, requesting that the subject might be brought to a hearing before them. He represented that he was perfectly willing, and even desirous, to submit his doctrine to examination; and that, if it could be proved erroneous, he would retract it: that, if the charges brought against him could be substantiated, he refused not to submit to the consequences: but that it was incompatible with his peace, and the peace of the citizens, and also with the honour of the council, as his patrons, that such charges should be perpetually circulated, without ever being brought forward in a tangible shape, so that he could meet and fairly grapple with them, or be confronted with their authors. Only one thing he stipulated—that the appeal should be made to the scriptures, as the

sole rule of judgment, and not to mere custom, or the traditions of men. The council in consequence took up the case; appointed a meeting to be held in their public hall, or senatehouse, on the twenty-ninth of January, and called upon all persons, who had any thing to allege against the doctrine or conduct of the chief pastor, to come forward and make their allegations without fear. They invited the attendance of the clergy of the canton, generally; and addressed a special request to the diocesan, the bishop of Constance, to be present, either personally or by his representatives; and another to the diet of the cantons, then assembled at Baden, soliciting them to send deputies to assist on the occasion.

It is to be observed, that the question which Zwingle proposed to submit to the council was not, generally, the truth or falsehood of his doctrine, (for we shall see that he disclaimed all human authority to pronounce definitively upon that,) but only whether he could be proved to have taught such unscriptural tenets, or to have been guilty of such other misconduct, as rendered him unworthy of support; and whether therefore he should be silenced, or should be protected against insult and injury. No doubt also he sought the opportunity of making his real principles more generally known, and of bringing the arguments by which they were defended, as well as the weakness of those reasonings which his adversaries could urge against them, before numbers whom he could not otherwise reach; leaving the whole under the divine blessing, to work its effects on the minds of the auditors.

In order that it might be fully understood what were the doctrines which he proposed to maintain, and that none might plead that they were taken by surprise at the discussion, he comprised the whole in sixty-seven brief Articles, which he published a sufficient time before the day of meeting.

It is highly observable, that precisely at this



period, in the interval between the issuing of the summons by the council, and the meeting taking place, the pope, Adrian VI, (who had succeeded Leo X. a year before,) addressed to Zwingle, to his friend Francis Zingk of Einsidlin, and to the burgomaster of Zurich, highly flattering letters, holding out to them the hopes of receiving distinguishing marks of his favour. What was the design of letters of this description, written to such persons, and at such a juncture, there can be little room to doubt. They availed not however either to cajole, or in any other way to bend to the purposes of the pope, the leaders of the Swiss reformation. Zwingle openly spoke of the pope as having endeavoured to buy him off by bribes, and seemed only the more animated to urge forward the great work he had undertaken; and he henceforward more decidedly than before denounced the papacy as Antichrist.

The burgomaster of Zurich, here referred to, was Mark Reust, a person of very high character; so much so as to be honoured by Bullinger, who wrote an account of his life, with the title of "father of his country." He was a zealous and consistent supporter of the reformation.

At the time appointed the council assembled, and the parties summoned attended. The bishop of Constance was represented by five persons of eminence, at the head of whom were the chevalier d'Anweil, superintendent of his household, and Faber, his grand vicar. All the clergy of the city and canton, with many others from more distant parts, were present, and a numerous company of other persons, of various descriptions. The "Acts," or Proceedings of the meeting are preserved, and from them the following abstract is drawn.

The burgomaster Reust, who, as head of the council, presided, opened the meeting by an address in conformity with the summons by which it had been called. He adverted to the great differences

which had arisen on the all-important subject of religion, and to the mutual recriminations of the two parties. He particularly noticed the heavy charges brought against Zwingle by his opponents; the degree in which the minds of the people were unsettled; and the desire the council felt to terminate these discords. For this purpose he invited all persons who were inclined to do it to speak their sentiments; specially desiring that, if any one thought he could, from the holy scriptures, convict the chief pastor (who was there to answer for himself,) of having taught erroneous and dangerous doctrine, he would not fail to make the attempt; pledging himself that the utmost freedom of speech, that could reasonably be desired, should be allowed.

The chevalier d'Anweil, as one of the bishop's representatives, then rose, and said, that the bishop, having heard with great pain of the discordant sentiments which prevailed in Zurich, in common with other parts of his diocese, had deputed him and his colleagues, in compliance with the invitation of the council, to ascertain, on the behalf of their diocesan, the real state of the case, and to use their best endeavours to compose the existing differences.

Zwingle then addressed the assembly. He referred to the corruptions which he could not but see had overspread the church: "the light of the divine word had been obscured, and all but extinguished, by the traditions of men; so that there was nothing with which the far greater part of professed Christians were less acquainted than with the revealed will of God: they were taken up with a worship devised by men, a fictitious and false sanctity, an outward shew of religion, which they were taught to rely on as recommending them to God; while the only real safety and consolation of mankind, derived from the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Saviour, and not from our own, were disregarded." He complained, that pious and good men, who endeavoured to instruct their

brethren in the genuine gospel of Christ, drawn from his word, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, were treated, not as faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, but as heretics, and enemies of the church. He then adverted to his own case. For five years past he had taught at Zuric; and his conscience bore him witness that he had aimed to teach nothing but the pure gospel of Christ, as delivered in the sacred scriptures: but how was he treated? denounced as a seducer, a liar, a heretic, a rebel! He wished therefore to give an account of his doctrine publicly, before the senate of his country, his diocesan, and the whole world, and to hear whatever could be alleged against it—thankful to be corrected if he were in error, but prepared to maintain what he apprehended to be the truth. And all this he was ready to do any where else as well as at Zuric—at Constance itself, provided a proper safeconduct were granted him. He concluded by referring to the articles which he had published, as containing a summary of his doctrines.

When Zwingle closed, Faber rose, and in an official and courtier-like speech lamented the hardships of which “his brother” Zwingle complained—not doubting that he had faithfully preached the gospel at Zuric—“for who, that had been ordained by God to the ministry of the word, could do otherwise than preach the doctrine of the holy gospels and of the apostle Paul?” He himself had done the same, and would ever do so, as far as the more special services confided to him by his master (the bishop) would permit. With reference to Zwingle’s offer to appear at Constance, he could only assure him, that, should any thing call him to that city, he would find himself welcomed as a friend and a brother. For himself, he certainly had not now been sent to Zuric to impugn or obstruct the preaching of the gospel: but only, if any persons had taught what was contrary to it, or were thought to have

done so, to be informed of the facts, and to do what in him lay to terminate the differences thence arising. If any wished to attack "ancient rites and ceremonies, or customs handed down to us through a long series of ages," he must explicitly avow that he should engage in no dispute with those persons: for, in his opinion, all such questions ought to be referred to a general council of the church—which they had now reason to suppose would be held in the course of the present or the ensuing year.<sup>1</sup> To that assembly he earnestly recommended them to refer all points of that kind. If they were to be discussed in any other place than a general council, it ought at least to be in some renowned university, such as that of Paris, Cologne, or Louvain.

Zwingle was not to be diverted from his purpose by the plausible address of Faber. He complained of the vicar-general's speech as evasive, and calculated to overawe their minds by the plea of antiquity: but the question was, not what had been long practised or received, but what could stand the test of scripture. As to the hope of seeing a free and satisfactory council, it was vain to indulge it. The bishops, who would compose any council that should be called, were not like the primitive bishops—they were more properly secular princes: and was nothing to be done for the relief of disquieted consciences till their deliberations should be finished? He doubted not that there were in the present assembly numerous individuals governed by the Spirit of God. Through the divine goodness, they had resident in Zurich more persons skilled in the original Greek and Hebrew scriptures, than could be found in any one of the universities which had been mentioned: and besides these there were now collected together many learned divines, many persons versed in the canon law, and many distinguished members

<sup>1</sup> It was twenty-three years from this time before the council of Trent met, and forty-one before it terminated.

of different universities: and on the table were laid the scriptures in the original languages: to them let the appeal be made. He urged, therefore, and called upon his fellow-citizens to demand, that an investigation should now take place.

A profound silence followed this address. After waiting some time, the burgomaster rose, and repeated the request, that any person who had aught to allege against Zwingle or his doctrines would come forward: but no one presented himself. Zwingle then solemnly, in the name of truth and Christian charity, called upon those, who had propagated charges against him, now to support them; declaring that if they continued silent he should challenge them by name.

Still no one opened his mouth. Zwingle repeated his threat: and, silence still continuing, James Carpentarius, a minister of the canton, rose, and, reminding them of the recent mandate of the bishop, enjoining that they should retain all customs and ceremonies which had been observed in the church, remarked that Zwingle, in his published articles, had virtually and forcibly assailed this injunction, by denying the authority of human traditions; and yet no one now ventured to defend it, or to repel the attack. They must therefore think themselves at liberty to neglect the order that had been issued.—He adverted also pointedly to the case of Wyss,<sup>1</sup> the pastor of Visisbach, whom the diet assembled at Baden had sent to the bishop of Constance, and who was now in prison, under the authority of that prelate. Either, he said, Wyss must be unjustly imprisoned, or Zwingle's propositions must be indefensible; and, if they would not have the former believed, they must demonstrate the latter. He wished, for his own part, to know to what conclusion he ought to come, and what course he was in future to pursue.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 60.

This called up the vicar-general. He vindicated the bishop's edict; (though, he said, he had himself been absent on business when it was issued :) it was called for by the state of the times, when ignorant teachers preached to the people doctrines, which tended more to insubordination and sedition than to Christian edification. With respect to Wyss, he himself had held frequent conferences with him; and had found him, though a simple-minded, yet a very ignorant man: so much so that it would be insulting the present assembly to repeat to them some of his answers. He had induced him to retract certain of his errors. Particularly he had convinced him from scripture of his error in denying the invocation of "the mother of God and the saints:" and he hoped he would soon be set at liberty upon a general recantation.

Here Faber had been guilty of a fatal oversight; he had made himself a party in the dispute, and that upon the most untenable of all grounds. Zwingli failed not instantly to avail himself of his declaration, that he had convinced Wyss "from scripture" of the doctrine of the invocation of the saints. Henceforth all the efforts of Zwingli and his friends were directed to draw from Faber a simple reference to the passages of holy writ, by which he had established so material a dogma of the Romish creed. But their exertions had little success. Faber was so sensible of the false step he had made, that he scrupled not to say, "I see that that has happened to me which is said of the fool, He is entangled in his own words." Still he evaded the solicitations with which he was pressed; acknowledged his own want of acquaintance with the original languages of the scriptures; and launched out into copious disquisitions concerning fathers and councils, canons and customs. He admitted Jesus Christ to be the supreme Mediator: but others were "the lower steps of the ladder," by which he, for his part, was glad to ascend to that

which was highest. "Others might believe what they would, but *he* firmly relied on the intercession of the Queen of heaven, the Virgin Mother of God."

Zwingle denied that the usages of which they complained were of such antiquity as Faber represented; shewed how they were gradually introduced in later ages, so as to supersede the more ancient practices of the church; and withal told him, that they did not wish to draw from him a confession of his faith, but simply the mention of those passages of scripture by which he had convinced Wyss. On this point however he would not utter a syllable.

Some discussion was incidentally introduced of the prohibition of marriage to the clergy: at the close of which Hoffman of Schaffhausen rose, and observed, that he himself had been lately accused of heresy before the bishop of Constance, and driven from Lucerne partly for denying the doctrine of the invocation of the saints: and since he now heard the vicar-general assert that that doctrine might be proved from scripture, he most earnestly conjured him to favour them by pointing out, as he had been so repeatedly requested to do, the passages by which it might be established. He would acknowledge this as a personal obligation, for he sincerely desired to be set right where he might be wrong. No answer however was obtained.

Leo Jude then stated, that he had been lately elected a minister of Zurich, and was about to take up his abode there: <sup>1</sup> that he purposed, by the grace of God assisting, to spare no pains in preaching to the people the truth of God's word; but that he must candidly confess, that he should shew little respect for the mass of ceremonies and usages, mere human inventions, as he esteemed them, which had been introduced into the worship of God, and often confounded with the very appointments of the gospel

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 59.

itself: that these had been impugned and exposed in the propositions of his friend Zwingle; and no one was now found to vindicate them! Among these he at present must reckon the practice of invoking the saints, and seeking their intercession for us: he begged therefore to add his earnest solicitations to the many others which had been offered to the vicar-general, entreating that he would be pleased to point out the passages of scripture, which might prevent his teaching erroneous doctrine to the people.

Faber now complained of the number of persons by whom, in succession, he was assailed; and, being again urged by Zwingle, who begged him not thus to trifle with the meeting and with his own reputation, he proceeded to mention his scriptural proofs. They were the following: the words of the Virgin herself, "All generations shall call me blessed:" the address of Elizabeth to her, "Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" and the exclamation of the woman, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps that thou hast sucked." Zwingle here interposed the remark, "We called for testimonies, not to the sanctity and dignity of Mary, but to the *intercession* and *invocation* of the saints;" and Faber, finding his authorities only provoke a smile, said, "If what I say is esteemed empty and foolish, I have only to sit down in silence:" which he accordingly did.

Another member of the bishop's deputation then spoke, and Zwingle answered him: after which Hoffman ventured to exhort the council manfully to support the preaching of the evangelical or reformed doctrine, since it appeared that no one present had any thing of weight to urge against it. This gave much offence to Faber.—Meyer then rose and expressed himself to the following effect: "I cannot but ardently commend your wisdom, venerable lords, in that you have thought proper, by your public edicts, to countenance the preaching of the gospel in



your territories : and I praise Almighty God who has inclined your hearts so to do. And I also implore of him, that he will never suffer you to draw back from your pious and holy purpose ; but that he will rather confirm your minds with such consolation, strength, and resolution, that no earthly powers, whether popes or emperors, may ever overawe you ; and that, at this present time, you may come to such a conclusion as shall advance the true worship of God, and conduce to your own eternal honour. Never be moved by the consideration that, compared with many surrounding nations, you are but a feeble state ; but rather reflect, that God commonly chooses the weak and feeble, by whom to communicate to the world the knowledge of his truth and will, while he hides it from the wise and prudent. Fear not them, therefore, who can kill the body, but cannot hurt the soul. Neither let it disturb you, that the whole host of popes, prelates, and sophisters fiercely oppose the truth : for it is the will and purpose of God to expose the folly of the wise in this world, and to promulgate his gospel by means of those who are esteemed foolish. Hold fast then the word of God : and it shall be my part earnestly to commend your zeal to the imitation of the church of Berne."

Nothing else of importance passed : and the burgo-master, having renewed the invitation to all persons to speak, who had any thing to offer relating to the present inquiry, dismissed the assembly, with the exception of the members of the council. These remained, and deliberated on the resolution to which they should come ; which, having been agreed upon, was communicated to the whole company, assembled again in the afternoon for the purpose, in a decree to the following effect : " That, as no one had come forward to substantiate any accusation against their preacher and antistes, Ulric Zwingle—though numbers had previously reproached him as a heretic, and though he had submitted his doctrine to examination.

in propositions or articles duly published, and had challenged any one to convict him of error—therefore the burgomaster, council, and people of Zurich decreed and confirmed, that the said Ulric Zwingli should go on to declare and preach the holy doctrine of the gospel, and the oracles of the word of God, as he had heretofore done; and that all persons should abstain from criminating one another as heretics and offenders, on pain of such penalties as should shew the sense which the government of the country entertained of their misconduct.”

On hearing the decree Zwingli rose, and in an act of devotion said, “We give thanks to thee, O Lord, who willest that thy most holy word should reign alike in heaven and in earth.” Then, addressing himself to the council: “And on you, venerable lords, the same Lord of all will bestow that strength and determination of mind, which will be necessary for supporting and advancing the doctrine of the divine word throughout your territories: and doubt not that the Lord God will abundantly reward this your present act. Amen.”

Faber made no direct remark on the decree: but he pledged himself to prove to the most learned universities, that many things had passed that day contrary to the ancient and approved rules of the church, the constitutions and decrees of the holy pontiffs and fathers, and the practice of the whole Christian world: and having, he said, since the meeting in the forenoon, read, for the first time, the Articles of Zwingli, he engaged to demonstrate the same things concerning them. Zwingli welcomed the pledge, as “what he had been longing to hear given.”

A public conversation of some length then followed between Faber and Zwingli, at the close of which Faber shocked the meeting, and incurred the marked rebuke of Zwingli, by asking, with indecent levity, “How it could be proved from the scrip-

tures alone, that a man might not marry his own daughter?"<sup>1</sup> and observing, that "had the scriptures never been given we yet might have lived together on peaceable and friendly terms!"

Proportioned to the establishment which these events gave to the reformation was the vexation which they occasioned to its opponents. Faber, chagrined as might have been expected, wrote to a friend, "You expect news from me: I have none to send you which may be relied on, except that there is another Luther rising up at Zurich, who is more formidable than the other in proportion as the character of the people is more untractable. Against him I am compelled, whether I will or not, and indeed sorely against my will, to draw my pen—as you will shortly see in a book in which I prove the mass to be a sacrifice." He demanded of Zwingle to explain his sixty-seven Articles more at large, (as the reformer had expressed his intention of doing,) that he might know how to meet them. But this only tended still further to hurt his cause, as it led Zwingle to publish a copious "Exposition of the Articles," while Faber never gave his promised answer to them. The bishop of Constance complained bitterly to the cantons at large of the proceedings at Zurich: and he and the pope's legate, Ennius, are said to have employed their emissaries to take off Zwingle, if the opportunity could be found of doing it without too great a risk. Incessant calumnies were spread against the reformer; and he was formally accused to the cantons assembled at Baden. He justified himself in a printed paper addressed to the diet again assembled at Berne; in which he renewed the explanation of his doctrines, and entreated the cantons not to obstruct the preaching of the gospel. They however ordered that he should be

<sup>1</sup> Zwingle very properly replied, that, marriage in more remote degrees of consanguinity being prohibited, much more was it in the very first degree.

seized wherever he could be found.—Alluding to the dangers which he was told surrounded him after the disputation of Zurich, he writes to Steiner of Zug, “If I had been to be frightened by plots formed against me, I should never have taken up the office of preaching the gospel in the manner I have done. I say this, not to boast myself, but to set your mind at ease respecting me.”

In Berne we may probably trace the effect of the discussion of Zurich. The supreme council, a few months after, taking into consideration the height to which controversy was carried—the preachers undertaking to confute one another from the pulpit, and the minds of the people being in consequence much agitated—issued an edict, enjoining that “the ministers, both in town and country, should preach the gospel freely, fully, and clearly, but should take care to deliver nothing which they did not feel well assured that they could prove from the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament.” This was, in fact, recognizing the grand principle of the reformation; and must have been felt, both by one party and the other, to be a measure of great importance in that age; while it was, at the same time, so general and so temperate, that none could reasonably complain of it.

This was considered as the first public step taken at Berne towards the reformation, which was in the event so successfully established there. It was soon followed by others. Haller having held a conference on the subject of religion with a nun of a celebrated convent at Berne, an order was issued, in the first heat of the irritation which the circumstance occasioned, that he and all the preachers of his party should be banished: but his friends in the council had sufficient influence to procure the revocation of this order, and the substitution of an injunction to observe the late edict.

Soon after this the nuns of the wealthy abbey of

Kunigsfeld, all of them ladies of quality, having read some of the writings of Luther and Zwingli, were led to consider themselves as the "unhappy prisoners" of a dark and antiscriptural superstition; and in consequence applied to the council, "for the love of God and for the salvation of their souls," to release them from their confinement: and, after considerable delay, and repeated attempts made to divest them of "their Lutheran fancies," they succeeded in the object of their application; most of them quitted the abbey, (which in the year 1529 was converted into an infirmary,) and several of them married. The marriage of one of them with the guardian of the abbey, and that of another with a citizen of rank, publicly celebrated in the cathedral at Berne, made a strong impression on the minds of the inhabitants concerning the new order of things which was obtaining establishment.

In the mean time the bishop of Lausanne, within whose diocese the town of Berne was situated, took vigorous measures to repress the rising spirit of innovation. He convoked the clergy of his diocese at large, and earnestly exhorted them to oppose the spread of "the Lutheran heresy;" and began to adopt means for the expulsion of all persons infected with it. The government, however, jealous lest, under the pretence of exercising spiritual jurisdiction, he should encroach upon the rights and privileges of themselves and their subjects, would not suffer him to execute his designs within their extensive jurisdiction. They even refused to receive him into their town "as a prince:" "if he would come simply as a bishop, and, laying aside the purple, preach the gospel to them, they would be ready to welcome him; but if he came to tyrannise over his fellow-pastors it would be at his peril that he appeared among them." In these transactions the foundation seems to have been first laid of that animosity which the bishop conceived against the Bernese, and which ultimately

deprived him of his dignity.—But, independently of this reasonable jealousy for their civil liberties and privileges, we are assured that the number of those who ardently thirsted for the pure word of God, now greatly increased at Berne: and among them is particularly mentioned Nicholas de Watville, provost of the cathedral, and son of the late advoyer, James de Watville, who had been a great opposer of the reformation.

At Basle also reformed principles made great progress; which was only accelerated by the means employed to check it. It was at this time that Erasmus wrote to his correspondents, that “at Basle one might print any thing in favour of Luther, while it was scarcely safe even to write in favour of the pope.” The provincial of the order of which Pellican was guardian at Basle, now visiting that city, and hearing of the Lutheran principles both of him, of his deputy Kreis, and of Luthard, concerted measures for the removal of all the three: but, this coming to the knowledge of the council, they expelled him the city, and with him two of the professors of divinity, who had concurred in his plans: and they advanced Œcolampadius and Pellican to the chairs in the university which were thus vacated. Œcolampadius was soon after admitted to the curacy of S. Martin’s church, the incumbent of which was old and infirm; and he laboured so indefatigably in his double employ, as pastor and professor, that Zwingle felt it necessary to write to him to moderate his exertions, lest he should destroy his health.

At Schaffhausen also the course of things was favourable. Here indeed the little council, which is nearly equivalent to the executive power of the state, continued opposed to the reformation; but the grand council, of which the former was but a part, and the generality also of the citizens, were well disposed to it. Hoffmeister had been forbidden to preach publicly, but he was indefatigable in instruct-

ing the people in private; and his success was great. So widely had his principles spread, that the Roman-catholic processions at the great festivals were suppressed, several priests married, and a strong disposition was manifested to remove the images from the churches.

At Lucerne, indeed, the case was different. All the preachers of the reformed doctrine had been driven away, and severe ordinances were published against the marriage of the clergy, and the dissemination of "Lutheran" principles. The diet of the cantons also, assembled at Baden, adopted other rigorous measures in addition to those which we have already noticed.

But it was at Zurich that the greatest progress still continued to be made. Gregory Luti, pastor of Richtensweil, having preached against the popish ceremonies and the pride of the ecclesiastics, was dismissed from his situation by the administrator of the demesnes of the knights of S. John of Jerusalem. He appealed to the government of Zurich, but to his astonishment was condemned by the senate, or little council, to imprisonment and exile. The grand council however reviewed and annulled the decision; and ordered all causes affecting religion to be henceforth brought only before themselves. Greater reforms followed.

The cathedral of Zurich had a chapter of twenty-four canons, with thirty-six chaplains, a pastor of the parish, and his curate. As the canons in general lived in much irregularity, and even vicious indulgence, those who paid them their tithes had long done it with great reluctance, thinking it a heavy expense incurred rather to the detriment of the public than to its advantage. Much dissatisfaction was also occasioned by the exactions made for the administration of the sacraments, the performance of funeral rites, and other necessary services. These subjects were now brought under the notice of the council. The

chapter having given good proof of their being legally entitled to their tithes, the council confirmed their claim: but they appointed a commission of three of their own members and four canons to remedy abuses. The commissioners framed divers excellent regulations, which were sanctioned and published, and could not fail to give much content, and produce much good to the community.

The next subjects which came under discussion at Zurich were the mass and the use of images. Zwingle had lately published an Essay on the canon of the mass, or the prayers used in the consecration and administration. It is a spirited performance, addressed to his old friend and patron, Geroldseck, administrator of Einsidlin. In it he shews that the received canon was "full of ignorance, puerilities, and impiety; that it had not been composed at any one time, but patched together, and changed at various periods; that it was deformed by grievous errors and gross superstition; and ought therefore to be abolished." To the influence of this work we may in great measure ascribe it, that it was now commonly argued, that the mass was no sacrifice, and that, in its existing form at least, it ought to be discontinued.

The subject of images gave occasion to some disorders. Certain citizens, at the head of whom was Nicholas Hottinger, a man possessed of considerable religious information, though occupying no higher station than that of a shoemaker, took upon them to overturn a large crucifix erected in a public situation. For this offence Hottinger and some of his associates were committed to prison. The preachers from the pulpit justified the demolition of the idol, and seem to have been too much disposed to vindicate the gross irregularity of private individuals, even those of the lower class, taking upon them forcibly to make public changes, and that by means of tumult and violence. The city was much divided upon the subject; and the magistrates again deter-



ained to submit the question to a discussion—in the mean time retaining the prisoners in custody. And thus was introduced the second disputation of Zurich, October 26, 1523.

The subjects were Images and the Mass—whether they could be supported from the sacred scriptures or not. The bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire (the capital of the Grisons,) were invited to be present, and all the Swiss cantons to send their deputies and the most learned of their clergy: but the bishops had no inclination to repeat the experiment tried on the late occasion, and Schaffhausen alone, among the cantons, complied with the call. The town of S. Gallen sent its burgomaster, Vadian, and its chief pastor, Benedict Burgawer.

At the time appointed nine hundred persons, including the grand council of Two Hundred, assembled in the senatehouse of Zurich; and among them three hundred and fifty ecclesiastics. The burgomaster Reust opened the meeting, and in the name of the council requested Vadian, with Sebastian Hoffman of Schaffhausen, and Christopher Schappeler of Memmingen, to act as presidents. Zwingle and Leo Jude were specially appointed to defend their side of the question: and the former commenced the proceedings by reminding the assembly of the promise of Christ, that “wherever two or three were gathered together in his name he would be in the midst of them, and grant them their petitions.”

After Zwingle had premised some observations concerning the church, and the right of holding such meetings as the present, Leo Jude brought forward the proposition, “That images are forbidden by the word of God; and that Christians ought not to make them, set them up, or pay them any honour;” and supported it by various scriptural proofs. After he had spoken, repeated calls were made on those, who did not concur in his doctrines, to oppose the propo-

sition. But only the most trifling opposition was offered.

After Leo had replied, several of those who had most openly reproached the reformers were called upon, by name, to reply to the arguments which had been adduced, and to maintain their own side of the question. Some of them confessed that they had nothing to offer, and some still answered by scoffs. The prior of the Augustinians produced a quotation from the canon law. Zwingle in return shewed from that law itself that the scriptures alone were to be relied on. The monk, thus beaten with his own weapons, replied, that in all cases of difficulty we were to have recourse to the apostolic chair. "The pope," said he, "has decided, and I abide by his decisions. I leave it to others to *argue*."

At the close of the day the president Hoffman returned thanks to God for the clear evidence of his word upon the question which had been considered, and for the victory which his truth had manifestly obtained that day: and he besought the magistrates to liberate the persons under confinement for overthrowing the crucifix.

The following day Zwingle introduced the second proposition, "That the mass is not a sacrifice: and that the eucharist is celebrated in a manner quite different from the institution of the Saviour." As so much difficulty had been found in inducing the opponents of the reformation to come forward, the principal persons in each distinct rank of the clergy were now successively invited by name to deliver their sentiments, whether for or against the proposition. The abbots and those who ranked with them were first called upon; and, at the head of them, Wolfgang Joner, abbot of Cappel, who declared himself fully satisfied with both the propositions, and determined to defend them wherever the occasion might be presented. The abbot of Stein said, he would offer nothing against them. Felix Liberius

remarked, that the ancients had called the mass a *sacrifice*. Zwingle admitted that they had done so, but manifestly in a different sense from what was supposed—not as being itself a sacrifice every time it was celebrated, but as a *commemoration* of the sacrifice which Christ offered when he died on the cross.—Brenwald, provost of Embrach, concurred in the sentiments of the abbot of Cappel. The commendator of Kusnacht agreed with the doctrine laid down in the proposition, but thought that too harsh language had been used in speaking against the mass—which had stumbled many. This gave occasion to Zwingle to deliver some excellent sentiments. He justified the strong condemnation both of the mass and of monastic institutions: “Yet,” he said, “I wish that all ministers would employ their zeal in preaching Christ, that, through the prevalence of his word, *all* errors and abuses might be undermined and fall: for I know, and I know it with pain, that some have preached against particular errors with an indecorum which is neither useful nor right. Some retain nothing of sermons which they hear from me but strong detached expressions which I happen to use on such subjects; and many can recite nothing from the writings of Luther but the cutting language, which, incited by his fervent zeal for God and religion, he sometimes employs; while the pure and holy spirit, and ardent faith, with which he embraces the truth and word of God, have few imitators.—I will not deny that I may sometimes have been severe in the pulpit: but I am bold to affirm, that I have given just cause of offence to no one on any private ground: and you are not ignorant how forbearing I was at first towards my hearers on the subject of the intercession of the saints. I spoke only to this effect: ‘Do you carry your complaints where you think proper: for my part, I will carry mine only to God. *My hope* (in him) has certainty to go upon: your’s (in the saints) is uncertain.’ And this forbearance I

continued to use, till the doctrine of the intercession and invocation of the saints was beaten down by the power of God's word, which I taught, 'instant in season, out of season.' From my inmost soul therefore I wish all to be anxious to build up, rather than to throw down; to preach the word of God boldly, and to pronounce concerning particular doctrines or practices as God has taught them in his word."

The only instance in which an attempt was made to maintain a regular argument in favour of the Roman-catholic doctrine, was on the part of Martin Stainley, a preacher at Schaffhausen. He, on being called upon, addressed the meeting at great length. He commenced by speaking, with much seriousness and apparent feeling, of the corruption of mankind, and the imperfection of even their best works; which is such that "every believer, and by consequence the whole Christian church, while living in this world, may say, as S. Paul says of himself, 'So then with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.'"

Both Zwingle and Leo Jude, while they confuted his arguments, (which were not such as need here be detailed,) gave him credit for a sincere zeal for what he esteemed to be the truth. Zwingle in some degree rebuked Stainley, for virtually adopting the argument of the profane, 'You make all our forefathers to have lived and died in error, and thus to have gone to perdition.' "Who," he asked, "says that our forefathers are lost? They erred on this and other points: yet their salvation was in the hand, and dependent on the mercy, of God, to which other sinners also must owe their salvation. It is not *our* business to pronounce concerning their state. Why do we arrogate to ourselves the office of the Judge of all? Why do we say that this or that man has perished? Cannot God claim and preserve his own, *though in the midst of errors—even as he did the young Jews in the fiery furnace?* That the in-

ventors of these errors must give account to God, cannot be doubted. But this rash judging of others does not become us: we must leave all such cases to the judgment and mercy of God. That error *has* prevailed on the subject in question is as clear as the day."

The disputation was extended to a third day, but little further occurred which need be related. Burgawer of S. Gallen declared his hearty agreement with the two propositions. He had taught, he said, the doctrine which they laid down, and for so doing had been cited before the vicar-general of the bishop of Constance. Hubmeyer, John Zuiccus of Constance, and several other persons, expressed their concurrence; and one, who had before been an opposer, now avowed himself convinced, and confessed his error. The canons of Zurich were divided in their opinion. Those of Embrach declined offering any thing in opposition to the propositions. The guardian of the Franciscans and the prior of the Dominicans followed their example. At the close of the discussion, Zwingle exhorted the council, and Leo Jude the clergy, faithfully to follow their convictions, committing all consequences to God, who never failed them that reposed their trust in him.

The three presidents then rose, and Vadian, speaking in behalf of them all, observed, that no definitive sentence was to be pronounced as the decision of the meeting: they had heard the testimony of God's word in support of the two propositions, and likewise what could be urged against them: each person must judge for himself what was the conclusion to be formed, and must follow the dictates of his own conscience. He doubted not that the truth of God would prevail.—The burgomaster then returned the thanks of the council to the three presidents, and joined in the exhortation to all present to take the word of God for their only guide, and to follow it, fearing nothing. Thus the meeting closed.

The effects of this discussion were immediately felt very sensibly at Schaffhausen. On the return of the deputies from Zurich, they reported to the abbot and the canons all that had passed: and the impression it made was such, that the former ever after shewed himself favourable to the reformation, and Dr. Erasmus Ritter entirely changed his sentiments, and henceforward as zealously maintained the reformed doctrine as he had before warmly opposed it.—The first step taken by the government of Zurich, after the dissolution of the meeting, was, to release the persons imprisoned for throwing down the crucifix, with the exception of Hottinger, who, for the leading part which he had taken in that act of disorder, was banished the canton for two years—a sentence which, as we shall see, very contrary to the intentions of those who passed it, entailed upon the poor man a violent and cruel death.—In the next place, the council, having sufficiently perceived in the late discussions, how little knowledge of scriptural truth a great proportion of those who were appointed to be teachers of others possessed, ordered “A short Introduction to the true Christian doctrine,” composed by Zwingle, to be printed, and sent to all the clergy, “that by means of it they might learn to preach the truth sincerely and without adulteration.” Their further steps were taken with great caution and moderation. Though convinced that neither the mass nor the use of images could be justified by the word of God, they would not at once abolish them, while many professed not to have received the same conviction: but they allowed every minister to say mass or decline it, as he thought proper: and it was in consequence to a great degree neglected by the clergy, and deserted by the people. They strictly forbade, however, the eating of meat during Lent, not being yet satisfied that the customary observance of that season ought to be dispensed with. Before they proceeded further with

respect to the mass and images, they resolved once more to address the three bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire, as also the university of Basle, and each of the twelve cantons, transmitting to them copies of the little work of Zwingle's which they had lately issued; praying them that, if they could adduce any good reasons, drawn from scripture, why the use of images and the mass should be still retained, they would not fail to communicate them—promising to wait for their answer till Whitsuntide in the following year: "but they resolved after that time was elapsed, unless some satisfactory answer were received, to proceed to the abolition of those popish observances."

In the mean time, in consequence of the dissatisfaction expressed by some of the clergy, and a challenge given to Zwingle by five of the canons, a third disputation was held at Zurich, on the 13th and 14th of January, 1524, but with the same result as before.

But the more successfully the reformation advanced, the more violent, as might be expected, was the rage of those who still continued hostile to it. In the month of January, 1524, the cantons, (with the exception of Zurich and Schaffhausen,) being assembled at Lucerne, fulminated a second edict, "for the honour of God, the holy Virgin, and all the saints," against the new doctrines, and those who promulgated them. It comprised nineteen articles, asserting all the points of the Romish superstition which had been lately impugned. Amongst other things it provided, "that neither in taverns nor at feasts should any mention be made of Luther, or of any novel doctrine; and that those who carried about relics of the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary, or of S. Anthony, should not be laughed at by any one; and that whatever laws the bishop of Constance enacted respecting religion should be observed: and it professed to bind every one by oath

whether man or woman, old or young, who saw or heard any thing done, preached, or spoken, contrary to this edict, to give immediate information of the same in the proper quarter. The very circumstances which were supposed to call for such an edict would make it, generally speaking, nugatory. It attests however the interest universally excited upon the question of religion, and the contempt into which the objects of popish veneration were falling.

But there were parts of the country where both magistrates and people would be found ready to give effect to an edict like this; and it had at least one victim, whose story will be painfully interesting to us. This was Nicholas Hottinger, above mentioned. On being banished from Zurich, he had taken up his abode at Baden, then under the joint sovereignty of the eight ancient cantons. Here he was seized and thrown into prison, on the charge of having said, "that the clergy did not well and truly interpret the scriptures; that they administered not the mass according to the institution of Christ; that we ought to put our trust only in God; that the mass was not a sacrifice; that awful blasphemy was committed in the celebration of it; and that images are forbidden by the word of God:"—heavy charges these on which to convict a man capitally, before a civil tribunal, and that in a land of liberty! When interrogated, Hottinger professed himself ready to justify what he had advanced. The magistrates of Zurich wrote in his favour to the deputies of the states, which held the joint sovereignty with them, then assembled at Lucerne: but he was removed thither from Baden, and brought before his judges. He pleaded his cause with the same calmness and courage which he had previously manifested: but it was in vain; as was also the interposition of Zurich in his behalf. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he supported himself by *adverting to the redemption* achieved for him by his



Saviour; and, hearing one of his judges brutally and profanely remark, "He must now lose his head; if he should recover it again, we will then be of his religion;" he answered, "The will of the Lord be done! and may he be pleased to pardon all who have contributed to my death. To Jesus also it was said, 'Let him come down from the cross, and we will believe on him.'" A monk presented a crucifix to him: but he put it from him, saying, "It is by faith that we must embrace Christ crucified, in our hearts:" and then he spoke of the virtue of the cross, "but not," he added, "a cross of wood, but the passion and death of our Saviour." Seeing many persons weep as they followed him to the place of execution, he said, "Weep not for me, but for yourselves. I am going from misery to eternal happiness: but you have much need to weep for your sins, and to implore of God the gift of true faith and repentance, that you may be saved by Jesus Christ." He then repeated the Lord's prayer and the creed. On the scaffold he exhorted the cantons to remember the firm and faithful friendship which Zurich had ever shewn for them, and not to suffer themselves to be hurried by a blind zeal into violent resolutions against a sister state, merely because it contended for the truth. His last words were, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit, O my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Have mercy upon me and receive my soul!" And with these words he submitted to the stroke of the executioner.

Thus died the first martyr of the Swiss reformation. His example, we are told, as contrasted with the conduct of his judges, contributed much to the advancement of the reformed doctrine.

The legalized murder of their fellow-citizen could not fail to raise great indignation in the people of Zurich, against the cantons which had perpetrated it. Little leisure however was allowed them for the *indulgence* of their feelings. The other cantons,

assembled at Lucerne, with the exception of Schaffhausen, adopted resolutions by which they bound themselves, throughout their territories, and with all their powers, to maintain the Roman-catholic religion, and especially the doctrine of the real presence: and they expressly desired the deputy of Zurich to communicate the fact to his government. Not content with this, they sent a deputation to dissuade that state from persisting in the course on which it had entered.—They evidently on this occasion set forth the evils produced by the reformation in the strongest manner they were able; yet the amount of the charges they could bring against it is really trifling. With the exception of a degree of alleged insubordination in the lower orders, now become sensible of the impositions that had been practised upon them, (of which insubordination the affair of the overthrow of the crucifix at Zurich was perhaps the strongest instance that could be produced,) scarcely one of the evils charged was a moral offence. Almost all consisted only in the neglect of popish observances.

To this address of the cantons the council of Zurich returned a full and firm reply. "For five years past," they said, "their present ministers had officiated among them. At first, indeed, their doctrine had appeared to them novel, because they had heard nothing of the kind before: but, when they came to understand that the scope of it was simply this—to exhibit Jesus Christ as the author and finisher of our salvation, who had shed his precious blood for the sins of the world, and alone delivered wretched mortals from eternal death, and who is the only mediator between God and man; they could not but embrace such glad tidings with ardent zeal. That great had been the harmony and consent among those who received the doctrine of Christ in ancient times, and they hoped to see the like again among such as should apply their minds to it without regard to

human traditions, which had no foundation in the word of God. That, though they confined their adoration to Christ, and made him their only resource, yet they offered no injury or disrespect to Mary and the saints. That there was now so much light diffused through their city, that most of their people read and diligently searched the holy scriptures for themselves; nor could their ministers misrepresent the sacred writings which were in the hands of all: that schism and heresy, therefore, could not be objected to them, but might more justly be charged upon those, who, for the sake of their own gain and aggrandizement, turned the word of God to what sense they pleased. That error was imputed to them; but none was pointed out, or proved against them. That the bishops of Constance, Basle, and Coire, and some universities also, had been repeatedly solicited to shew them their errors; but that to the present hour nothing of the sort had been done. That, as to what the bishops said, of its not being lawful for them to make the scriptures so common, it was supported by no sufficient reason: they were referred only to fathers and councils; but their wish was to hear, not what men had decreed, but what Christ willed and commanded. That their ministers gave no cause for divisions in the state: such a proceeding was rather to be attributed to those, who, for their own interest, had taught contrary to the word of God. That all the existing discords arose from those persons who feared the loss of their accustomed profits. That many vices had indeed been introduced in these later times, which were unknown to their ancestors, but that their teachers reproved them, exhorting men to the fear of God; and, if numbers remained unreformed by their doctrine, this was THE FAULT, NOT OF THE SEED SOWN, BUT OF THE GROUND INTO WHICH IT FELL. That certainly, within their territories, such a degree of luxury and intemperance was not to be seen, as prevailed elsewhere; and their

now entered not, as formerly, into those hired services, which were productive of unnumbrils. That, as to the eating of flesh and eggs though it was not unlawful, and had not prohibited by Christ, they had passed a law to the rashness of the people, and prevent the occasioned by it. That, with respect to e, God was the author of it, and he allowed l; and they could not fight against him by ing what he had instituted. That S. Paul, verating the qualifications of a minister of the had even mentioned his being ' the husband wife.' That it seemed to them just, that the f convents, and of colleges of regulars, should lied to the use of the poor—which was their design; and not be employed in pampering who did not need them: yet, in order that no ght have just cause of complaint, they had the present possessors to enjoy them for their That the costly ornamenting of churches was of the worship of God, but that the relief of r and miserable was highly acceptable to him: rist's command to the rich young man was, ang up his wealth in churches for a shew, but that he had, and give to the poor.' That they despise, but on the contrary highly esteemed, er of the priesthood, when priests did their ad taught the people aright: but that, as for wds of idle priests, who did no good to the nity, but much harm, they doubted not that ly to diminish their number would be a ser-ell-pleasing to God. That whether their gs and prayers were pleasing to him might doubted, since most of them understood not ds they used, and did it only for hire. That as the worth of auricular confession, or the ing of sins to a priest, they would not take em to determine: but the confession with true penitents betook themselves to Christ

must be esteemed not only useful but indispensable. That the usual mode of making satisfaction for sins (so gainful to the priesthood,) appeared to involve much error and impiety; and that the right course was, for men to repent and reform their lives. That the order of monks was a mere human institution. That they highly revered the sacraments which had God for their author, and would suffer no one to treat them with contempt; but that these holy ordinances ought to be administered according to the divine appointment; and that the Lord's supper was not to be converted into an offering or sacrifice for sin. That the council was extremely glad to hear from the cantons that they wished to see the pope's rapine, extortion, and exorbitant power abolished; but that there was no better way of accomplishing this desirable object, than to follow in all things the word of God; for, so long as the laws and decrees of the church were in force, no relief from its encroachments could be expected: the preaching of God's word could alone shake the usurped dominion. That the adherents of the papacy were fully sensible how great was the power of truth and of the gospel; on which account they had recourse to kings and princes to defend them against its progress. For *their* parts, they were ready to contribute not only their counsel, but all they possessed, to effect the removal of the existing abuses. They prayed the other cantons therefore to take in good part what they had urged, and to give it their best consideration. They desired nothing more earnestly than that all should live in peace and harmony; and they would do nothing contrary to the engagements subsisting between them and their allies: but, with respect to the present question, which concerned their eternal salvation, they could not change their course, unless they were shewn to have been in error. If the cantons could prove to them, that in any respect they were going contrary to the holy scriptures,

they most earnestly entreated, as they had before done, that they would not fail to do it; and would not delay the attempt beyond the close of the month of May—the period to which they had agreed to wait for the answer of the bishops, and of the university of Basle.”

It is impossible to read documents of this kind, emanating from senates and councils, without remarking the vast and even portentous change which has taken place. If statesmen and political bodies formerly too much approximated to the character of divines, they have surely now gone, to a fearful degree, into the opposite extreme—when their proceedings scarcely bear the trace of a reference to the scriptures, the providence, or the will and favour of God, or to those rules which he has given to direct the conduct both of nations and of individuals. Alas! in our public transactions we seem to have at least grown “ashamed of Christ and of his words:” if we have not even gone the length of declaring that we “will not have him to reign over us.” We may flatter ourselves that we have cast off the narrow bigotry of former ages, and have made great advances in illumination: but, if this is to be shewn in the exclusion of true, practical, and Christian religion, whether from our public counsels or our private habits, “the light that is in us will be found to be darkness.”

In the beginning of June, the bishops sent a long answer (extending to fifty sheets,) to the application which the council of Zuric had made to them on the subject of images and the sacrifice of the mass. This answer had previously received the approbation of some universities, and was so satisfactory to its authors that they published it to the world at the same time that they sent it to Zuric. It was first examined by a commission of the clergy and members of the senate, and then read and considered in the council; who employed Zwingle to prepare an

answer to it in their name. As it only urged, in favour of images, the old arguments, that those which the Old Testament prohibited were the idols of the heathen, whereas those now in use were of a totally different kind, and regarded in a different manner, and therefore might and ought to be retained under the sanction of the church's authority; and pleaded, in support of the sacrifice of the mass, the testimonies of popes and councils; it is unnecessary here to dwell either on the paper or the reply to it.

The council now scrupled not to proceed in the work of reformation. Even before the receipt of the bishops' answer, they had, at the solicitation of the three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Leo Jude, restrained or regulated several customary observances. A grand procession, annually made from Zurich to Einsiedlin on Whitmonday, with the cross and banner at its head, they entirely abolished. The same was done by the procession of Corpus Christi—the provost and chapter having joined the pastors in a representation, that Christ had instituted the eucharist to be devoutly received in remembrance of his cross and passion, and not to be carried about to be gazed at by the idle multitude. Other celebrations the council regulated, ordering that they should be accompanied by a sermon; after which the people should return to their ordinary employments. They thus aimed in a measure to correct the excessive number of holidays, which so much promote idleness and vice in Roman-catholic countries. They likewise abolished offerings for the dead, the blessing of palms, of holy water, and of tapers, and the rite of extreme unction, with some other observances, as being superstitious, and contrary to the word of God. They caused the shrines in the churches, which were said to contain many wonderful relics of the saints, to be opened. Where bones were found, they were interred with decent respect: but in general no such things as had been expected were discovered.

The pastors now pressed to have the resolution for the abolition of images carried into effect: and the council accordingly appointed a commission, consisting of seven ecclesiastics, with some members of their own body, to consider and report on the most unexceptionable mode of proceeding. Zwingle himself has given us a particular account of the very prudent and temperate measures which were adopted; and the whole passed over with the utmost good order and decorum. The same temperate and cautious spirit was observable in the resolution of the council, to defer till the next year any further proceeding respecting the mass, on the ground that one decisive step of this kind was sufficient to be taken at a time.

Zwingle this year set the example of himself using that liberty for which he contended on behalf of his brethren, by marrying Anna Reinhart, widow of John Meyer, lord of Weiningen, in the county of Baden. He had by her several children, only two of whom survived him—Ulric, who trod in his father's steps, and was a canon and archdeacon of Zurich; and Regula, married to Rudolph Gualter, a divine of eminence, to whom we are indebted for the Latin translation of many of Zwingle's writings, found in his collected works. As the former husband of the lady whom Zwingle married was rich, as well as of noble rank, the enemies of the reformer did not fail to charge him with having been influenced in his choice by motives of avarice and ambition. This led him to give such an exposition of his circumstances, as furnishes another instance of the sort of worldly portion with which these noble-minded leaders of the reformation not only contented themselves, but contrived also to exercise both hospitality and charity "without grudging." "People talk," he says, "of the rich benefices of the pastors of Zurich, but I can declare that mine this year would not have produced me sixty pieces of gold, unless the heads of our col-



lege (the chapter) had allowed me some advantages. My adversaries swell the amount from sixty to three hundred!—I do not make this statement as complaining of poverty. God is my witness, that, if ever I feel uneasiness upon that subject, it is only because I cannot, to the extent of my wishes, relieve the number of poor people who need assistance. And indeed, if I consulted my own ease, I should gladly resign every sixpence of my stipend, to extricate myself from the hazardous services in which I am engaged. But neither the state of the times, nor the improvement of the talent committed to me, will allow me to retire.—As for my wife, apart from her clothes and her ornaments, she does not possess more than four hundred pieces of gold in the world: and, for her ornaments, she so little esteems them, that she has never made use of them since her marriage with me. The children indeed of her former marriage are rich; (may God give them grace to use their wealth aright!) and from them she receives thirty pieces of gold per annum: I have forborne to claim any further dowry, though I might have done it.”

In the month of April, of this year, Clement VII, who had succeeded Adrian VI. in the papal chair in the preceding September, addressed a brief to the Helvetic republic generally, and, in particular, to all such members of it as had exerted themselves in support of the catholic faith, commending their zeal as “more glorious to them than all the victories and military achievements of their countrymen,” and exhorting them “to persevere in their laudable course, and to extirpate all impugnors of the ancient faith.” Animated by this address, as well as roused by the decisive proceedings at Zurich, the other ten cantons, being assembled at Zug in the month of June, sent ambassadors to Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, to upbraid the first of those states with its apostacy, and adoption of principles subversive

of the Christian faith; and to warn the other two against following so fatal an example: at the same time giving notice to them all, that the cantons were resolved to tolerate no "Lutheran errors" in their own territories, or in the governments which they administered in common with others; but to inflict upon all followers of the Lutheran sect condign punishment, both in their persons and their goods.—The six cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Friburg went still further: they declared to the citizens of Zurich, that they would neither in future call them to the diet of the cantons, nor sit with them there, till they renounced the novel dogmas they had embraced. Neither their exhortations nor their menaces, however, produced any effect on the reformed; who simply answered, "that they believed they had done nothing unbecoming sincere Christians, since in all their measures they had endeavoured to make the word of God their only rule."

An occasion soon afterwards presented itself to the Roman-catholic cantons of shewing that they meant not to content themselves with idle threats, especially in the common bailliages, where the opinions of Zwingle were now gaining ground.

The town of Stamheim, situated on the frontiers of Thurgau, was dependent upon Zurich, except for its criminal jurisdiction, which was vested in the bailiff of Thurgau—appointed by the eight ancient cantons in rotation. The present bailiff was Joseph Amberg, of Schwitz, a man who had once favoured Zwingle's principles, but who, in order to secure his election to his present office, had promised to use his endeavours to suppress the new doctrines in Thurgau. Stamheim was governed by a vice-bailiff, of the name of John Wirth, a zealous patron of the reformation, and, as such, very obnoxious to Amberg. Wirth's sons, John and Adrian, both clergymen, had also been stationed at Stamheim by the council of Zurich,

for the instruction of the people. These persons, having received the edict of the council on the subject, had promptly removed all the images placed in public situations at Stamheim: an act for which Amberg would have seized and imprisoned them, had he not been prevented by the interposition of the people, who ran to arms in their defence. A short time after, however, he succeeded in carrying off, in the dead of night, John Cechslin, of Einsidlin, the learned and pious minister of the neighbouring town of Burg. This he did in contempt of the privileges of Stein, on which town Burg was dependent. An alarm was raised, and a number of people of all ranks, from Stein, Stamheim, and other places pursued the soldiers who carried off Cechslin. Cechslin however was not rescued: but many of the people on their return, or during a parley between the parties, procured refreshment at the convent of Ittingen; and some of the most disorderly, perhaps intermingled with others who were prompted by a fanatical zeal, being disappointed of their object, and having drunk to excess, proceeded to pillage the convent and set it on fire. The Wirths were present, and used their utmost endeavours to restrain the people, but unhappily without success; and, most iniquitously, the whole penalty of the outrage was made to fall upon them and their friend Burchard Ruteman, vice-bailiff of Nushbaumen, a man of the same principles with themselves. These parties were publicly accused by the Roman-catholic cantons as the authors or ring-leaders of the tumult. The council of Zurich, whose subjects they were, in consequence ordered them to be apprehended, and detained them in custody for three weeks; when, after full examination, they pronounced them entirely innocent. But this did not satisfy the cantons, now assembled at Baden; who threatened that, if the accused were not delivered up to them, they would march their troops to Zurich, and carry them off by the force of arms. The dread of a

civil war, together with the confidence that the parties would be able clearly to establish their innocence, prevailed over the firmness of the council, and they delivered them up; but on the express stipulation that they should be examined only with respect to the late affair, and in the presence of the deputies of Zurich; and that their religion should not be pleaded against them. This decision of the council was much blamed by many of the citizens; at the head of whom was Zwingle. "To yield to threats," said he, "and to renounce your just rights, when the life of a subject is at stake, is a criminal weakness, from which none but the most fatal consequences can be expected."

The prisoners, being surrendered, were conducted to Baden, and there thrown into a dungeon. When brought before the cantons, they were immediately questioned concerning the removal of the images at Stamheim, and on other points affecting their religion. The protest of the deputies of Zurich, against this gross violation of the conditions on which they had been allowed to appear there, was only derided. The prisoners were put to the torture, in order to draw from them confessions which might give some colour of justice to the sentence which it was already determined to pronounce upon them. When the elder Wirth, under the extremity of torture, cried out, and implored the help of God, one of the impious wretches, his examiners, demanded, "Where is now your Christ? Bid him come to your relief." The wife of Wirth hastened to Baden, to implore the mercy of his judges. She set forth his numerous family; and pleaded that, even if there were some causes of complaint against her husband, he might well claim the indulgence of the sovereign power, in consideration of his past fidelity. "It is true," replied the deputy of Zug, who had preceded Amberg in the government, "I have been twice bailiff of Thurgau, and I never knew a more innocent, up-

right, and hospitable man than Wirth. His house was open to all who stood in need of his assistance: he ever shewed himself a good and faithful subject; and I cannot imagine what demon can have drawn him into this tumult. If he had plundered, robbed, or even murdered, I would willingly speak in his favour; but, since he has burned the image of the blessed S. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, there can be no mercy shewn him." Such was the opinion, or at least such was the determination of the other deputies—that no mercy should be shewn him; and they accordingly condemned him and his companions to die. To colour over, however, their cruel and fanatical sentence with the appearance of mercy, they granted the pardon of the second son, Adrian, to the tears of his mother.—During the short interval between his condemnation and his execution, the father exacted from this son a promise, that he would not attempt in any way to avenge his death: and the elder brother said to him, "You know that we have faithfully preached the word of God, but always under the cross: do not then weep, but resume your courage, and be constant. I render thanks to Almighty God that he hath honoured me by this day calling me to suffer and die for his word. Blessed be his holy name for ever! His will be done." The sufferers all met their death with constancy, in the presence of a crowd of weeping spectators.

The government of Zurich now felt it necessary to provide against any more direct and open measures of hostility, which their adversaries might adopt. They addressed themselves to the four cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, which either countenanced the reformation, or at least viewed it without that animosity which some others manifested. These four cantons returned a favourable answer, and henceforward shewed a more decided disposition to befriend that of Zurich. The

council at the same time convened the several communities or parishes of the canton, to ascertain how far the government might rely upon the support of the people in the changes they were introducing. The meetings were very unanimous in assuring their rulers of the readiness of the people to stand by them, with faithful attachment, under every emergency. Thus fortified, and favoured also by circumstances, the council went boldly forward with its reforms. The chapter of canons resigned certain rights of sovereignty which they possessed, incompatible with the just authority of the civil government. The recitation of the canonical hours was discontinued, and, in lieu of it, the practice was adopted of the ministers and professors assembling in the choir of the cathedral church five times in the week, to read the scriptures publicly, in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and finally in the German language, and to explain them to the different members of the ecclesiastical body, the students, and such of the people as chose to attend—beginning and concluding with prayer; a practice which was found much to promote edification, and the diffusion of scriptural knowledge among persons of various classes, who valued such acquisitions.—The mendicant orders also were suppressed, and the convent of the Dominicans was converted into a hospital; and their church was made a fourth parish church for the benefit of the town. The other religious houses successively underwent similar changes, their revenues being applied to the relief of the sick, the poor, and destitute strangers. “Cupidity,” it has been affirmed, “had no part in this secularization: the property of the church was neither embezzled by individuals, nor swallowed up by the treasury: it only received a more enlightened, and more truly pious destination. The disinterestedness and moderation which presided over these arrangements do honour to Zwingle, whose

vigilance and firmness disconcerted the projects of such as would have made the changes subservient to private interest.

The popish cantons had this year recourse to an expedient somewhat novel on their side of the question. Perceiving the influence which the disputations of Zurich had had in promoting the reformation, and hearing the reformed constantly proclaim their readiness to discuss the disputed points afresh—a challenge which being declined still further prejudiced their cause with the people; they became exceedingly anxious to procure a public discussion, of which the result should be favourable to them. But they had great obstacles to overcome. The papal authorities had ever held, that such discussions could not lawfully take place without the sanction of the pope; and also that they were superfluous and even improper, all material questions relating to the faith having been already examined and determined by more competent judges. At this time, however, they found a zealous papal advocate, who, whether from a confidence in his own powers, and the vanity of displaying them, or from any more sincere zeal for his religion, was ready not only to embark in the service, but to maintain the right of the cantons to appoint a discussion—"seeing that, so far back as the time of the emperor Constantius, S. Athanasius and Arius had disputed in the presence of Probus, governor of Syria, who did not even profess the Christian religion." He wrote to the cantons, that, if the good people of Zurich would give him the hearing, "he hoped, by the help of God and his blessed Mother, they might be so convinced by his arguments as to wish *rather to be Turks than Lutherans!*"—This redoubted champion was no other than the celebrated Dr. Eckius of Ingolstadt, well known in the history of the Lutheran reformation. The Roman-catholic cantons accordingly proposed a disputation to be held at Baden, in the month of August, at which

they engaged Eekius to take the lead on their side, and invited Zwingle to appear as the advocate of the opposite party. But the whole of the late conduct of these cantons; the place at which the disputation was to be held—where the population was Roman-catholic, and had sufficiently displayed its temper on recent occasions; and particularly the terms of the safeconduct offered, excited a strong suspicion, that the real object was to withdraw Zwingle from under the protection of the magistrates of Zurich, and then to take away his life. He refused therefore to attend a meeting “either at Baden or Lucerne,” though he declared himself ready to encounter Eckius either at Zurich, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, or Glaris.” And indeed the magistrates were so convinced of the danger to which he would be exposed, that they refused him permission to go to Baden. Thus the proposal for the present proved abortive.

The Roman-catholic cantons, though so determinedly opposed to the sentiments of Zwingle and of Luther, could not conceal from themselves the necessity of reformation in the multiplied cases of scandal, of oppression and extortion, or of shameful neglect, which were every where presented to view in the management of the affairs of religion and the church. They had, moreover, in their deputation to Zurich, expressly acknowledged the existence of many of these evils, the offence they felt at them, and their readiness to concur in applying a proper remedy: and they clearly perceived that there would be no possibility of arresting the progress of that system of reform which they regarded with alarm and abhorrence, otherwise than by some improvement in the existing state of things. They took upon themselves, therefore, to draw up a scheme for the reformation of ecclesiastical abuses, to be proposed for general adoption in the country. As might have been expected, the reformation they projected had reference to little more than external matters: for,



as the modern biographer of Zwingle justly observes, "they did not perceive that most of the abuses, generally complained of, were the necessary consequences of the dogmas combated by Zwingle" and his brethren; "and that, while these were suffered to subsist, it was impossible to obviate the inconveniences" which flowed from them. Even their superficial reformation, however, was too much opposed to the interests and habits of the clergy, and of those connected with them, to be admitted. Berne alone adopted the regulations, with some alteration, and published them in its territories the year following; while the other cantons declined them, determining to refer all changes that might be necessary to the long promised general council.

We have before stated, that the four cantons of Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, had favourably entertained the application made to them by the government of Zurich, to interpose between that state and those which were so violently incensed against it. Basle also now shewed a disposition to look with a more friendly eye upon Zurich. The council availed itself of this opportunity to address to the members of the Helvetic confederation at large a manifesto, complaining of the great and repeated injuries which Zurich had sustained; tracing up all the virulence displayed towards it, 1. To its refusing some years before to enter into the alliance with the French king, and thus to render itself his pensionary, and to hire out its people to perish in foreign wars: 2. To its receiving the reformation: and, 3. To various false charges and gross calumnies propagated against the canton. They entreated therefore that "the peace of Switzerland might not be broken through prejudices rashly taken up, and retained without examination."

Even at this period, the pope had not abandoned the hope of reclaiming Zurich, and retaining it in its allegiance to the holy see. In the month of February

He wrote both to that canton and to Schaffhausen, addressing the magistrates and citizens in the most stirring terms, casting all the blame of what had happened, on the impious men who had seduced men by assuming the name of reformers.—There are other writings, however, which produced more effect in Switzerland than those of the pope. At the close of the year 1524, and the beginning of 1525, Zwingle published several useful, and some very important works.

Valentine Compar, public secretary of the canton of Uri, now wrote against the reformer a work, which he first read in a general assembly of the canton, and then published. Zwingle, in replying to him, readily acknowledged that he had defended the church of Rome in as able a manner as the case permitted, and in the spirit of one sincerely engaged in the search after truth. In consequence, the reformer answers him with great courtesy. In his answer to Compar, among other interesting passages, Zwingle gives an extended account of the strange superstitions in which the people had been living, with respect to images and the saints. Many expected to obtain pardon of their sins by merely touching a certain statue. The pagans, he affirms, never committed more gross idolatry than that which was practised towards the virgin Mary at Lottio, Lausanne, and Einsidlin. This superstition had increased prodigiously within the last generation; and the clergy drew from it immense revenues.

But the most important, perhaps, of all Zwingle's works appeared at this time, in his "Treatise of true and false Religion." It was composed at the request of various learned persons in France and Italy, to explain the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, as well as to expose the errors of popery; and, by the advice of his friends in the former country, the author dedicated it to the French king,

Francis I. This great work, though it contains some things justly thought exceptionable, is yet "a noble monument of the author's piety, learning, and intellectual powers, as well as a decisive proof of the blessed recovery of Christian truth in Switzerland at that time."<sup>1</sup>

In an appendix to this work Zwingle again discussed the subject of the eucharist and the mass; justly considering the doctrine of the corporal presence as the source of the grossest errors and superstitions. Happily, whatever differences might subsist between him and the German divines upon this subject, his colleagues in Switzerland were nearly unanimous in their agreement with him respecting it: and the time had now arrived for establishing at Zurich a reformation in the mode of celebrating the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The three pastors, Zwingle, Engelhardt, and Leo Jude, accompanied by Megander, chaplain of the hospital, and Myconius preacher in the abbey church, presented themselves before the council, and demanded that the mass, having been long since proved to be contrary to scripture, and full of idolatry, should be formally abolished, and the celebration of the eucharist according to Christ's holy institution substituted in its place. The demand was strongly opposed by the under secretary of the council, Joachim Am-Grut. He charged Zwingle's interpretations of scripture, particularly in understanding the words, "This is my body," to mean, This *represents* my body, with being sophistical and unsound. Zwingle however replied so satisfactorily that the council the same day passed a decree abolishing the mass, and ordering the eucharist to be thenceforward celebrated according to the institution of Christ and the apostolical practice. The altars were accordingly removed from the churches, and replaced by communion tables; a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Milner, v. 400.

regular order for the administration of the eucharist was drawn up and published; and scandalous offenders were ordered to be excluded from communicating, till they reformed their lives: and upon this plan the sacrament of the Lord's supper began to be celebrated at Zurich at the period of Easter, 1525.

The change gave great satisfaction to the citizens in general; and numbers, we are told, who had before absented themselves from the mass, unable to credit its monstrous absurdities, and yet trembling to approach it without an unwavering faith in them, now received Christ's holy sacrament with pacified consciences and thankful hearts. The comparatively small number of dissentients were allowed, though not to celebrate mass in any of the churches of the city, yet to attend it at Einsidlin or other places in the neighbourhood, if they pleased. The restriction appears to have been carried too far. The proper language of a government, in giving a religious establishment to their country, seems to be of this kind: 'This is what approves itself to our judgments and consciences; and what we shall therefore provide for having taught to our people: we invite, and shall welcome, the concurrence of all who can agree with us: others we leave to pursue the course which shall approve itself to them; reminding them only of their responsibility to God for the choice they may make.' And what beyond this is the spirit of our own religious establishment, at least as now administered?

But, though Zwingle had satisfied his hearers by his answer to the secretary Am-Grut, yet some shade of dissatisfaction rested upon his own mind, from his having been able to produce no instances of the required use of the verb *to be*, but such as were more or less associated with parables. And this circumstance is connected with an incident in his history, which, as it is related by himself, has been taken

a very unfair advantage of by those who were opposed to him, either generally, or on the doctrine of the sacrament. The subject, he tells us, occupied his mind during the day: and, having employed his waking thoughts, it also mingled with those of the night. In a dream, he imagined himself again engaged in dispute with the secretary, and somewhat embarrassed by his objection, which he could recollect no instance directly to rebut; when, suddenly, he says, "a monitor seemed to stand by me, (whether he was white or black, I do not at all remember—for I am relating a dream,) who said, 'Simple man, why do you not answer him from the twelfth chapter of Exodus, *It (the lamb) is the Lord's passover*'"—his *passing over* the children of Israel. "Immediately," he proceeds, "I awoke, and sprang out of bed: I examined the words in the Septuagint, and (the next day) publicly discoursed upon them, with so much success as to remove every doubt from the minds of all who sought to understand the scriptures: and such sacraments followed, as I never at any other time witnessed."

Whether the instance thus adduced is more satisfactory than the others; or whether any one more satisfactory needed to be adduced; or to what precise source we are to trace the occurrence to Zwingle's mind of this passage, which he had previously overlooked; are not questions which we are now called to examine. His expression, that he remembered not whether his apparent monitor was *black or white*, is a proverbial one, merely equivalent to this, "I can give no account of the matter;" and in that sense Zwingle himself *frequently* uses it. Most unjustly therefore has he been charged with profanely intimating, that, on the present occasion, he was assisted by immediate inspiration, but that he knew not, and scarcely cared to know, whether it were a *black* inspiration, or one of heavenly origin? Nay, just as in Luther's case, with respect to his

having been, as it is pretended, "taught by the devil that the mass is no sacrifice,"<sup>1</sup> so here some have affected to treat Zwingle's whole doctrine of the sacrament as confessedly thus communicated to him; whereas he had taught that doctrine long before, and now speaks of nothing more than this single text, in reply to the cavil of Am-Grut, having occurred to him in the manner which he describes. But the fact is, that Zwingle neither refers a suggestion, which proved so useful to him, to an evil source, nor even leaves us in any doubt as to the source to which he thought it was to be ascribed. Directly or indirectly, it, in his opinion, came from God. "I relate the truth," he says, "and that such a truth that my conscience compels me, whatever reluctance I may feel, (as being well aware of the ridicule to which it may expose me,) to avow what THE LORD hath imparted to me." All therefore that he meant by the phrase, of which such unwarranted use has been made, was, to say that "the monitor" in his dream did not appear to him to be one whom he knew at the time, or of whom he had now any recollection—"Ater an albus ille monitor, nihil memini."

The subversion of "the grand idol" of the mass must be considered, if not as a crowning act, yet as an event so decisive as to mark an epoch in the reformation of Zurich. The establishment of a consistorial court, for the decision of matrimonial and other causes, which had hitherto been carried before the bishop of Constance, soon followed, and served at once to relieve the citizens from burdensome exactions and delays, and still further to break their connexion with the Romish hierarchy.

We may here notice an important measure, of which the first step was about this time taken, and which in Switzerland, as well as in Germany, pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Lutheran Reformation*, ii. 98.

duced the most powerful and permanent effects. I refer to the giving of the scriptures to the people in the vulgar tongue. Luther had, in the year 1523, published the Pentateuch and the historical books of the old Testament, translated from the original Hebrew into the German language. The divines of Zurich now revised his translation, adapted it to the Swiss dialect of the German, and printed it in 1525. With the rest of the sacred writings they proceeded for themselves, and published the remainder of the Old Testament in 1529, and the whole together, revised, in 1531. Leo Jude and Caspar Megander had the principal share in the work: but Zwingle himself and some others also bore a part in it. About the same time an anabaptist teacher, a man of learning, published a translation of the prophets from the original; and to the general fidelity of his version the learned men of Zurich bore honourable testimony.

The mention of the anabaptist translator (though honourable with respect to him individually,) may lead us to advert to three lamentable events which occurred about this time, and materially impeded the progress of the reformation. These were, the rustic war, or extensive rebellion of the peasants in Germany, which was accompanied with some movements of the same kind, though comparatively slight, in Switzerland; the sacramental controversy, which arose between Luther and Zwingle, and which has ever since divided their followers; and the prevalence of the extravagant doctrines and practices of the fanatical anabaptists. On none of these painful subjects, however, need we enlarge. They have all been noticed in the History of the Lutheran Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zwingle published his treatise "De Baptismo" (I believe his first work on the subject,) in May, 1525. The assertion of the fair translator of Hess's Life of Zwingle, that, "had not the fanatics rendered adult baptism the badge of their sect, Zwingle would apparently have embraced it, as most conformable to the scriptural notion of that rite,"

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of baptism, but that it states a fact concerning the reformer I  
eason to believe.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Progress of Reformation in different cantons—Disputation of Baden—Persecutions—Anabaptists.*

WE have brought down the history of the reformation of Zurich to the middle of the year 1525. We will now cast our eyes around upon the neighbouring cantons, and review the progress which the same work was making in them. We shall notice only those places where, though powerful opposition might be offered to it, it was eventually successful.

Berne may first claim our attention. Here the advance was at present but slow. In April, 1524, the council, in consequence of the deviations from established usage which had taken place, published an edict forbidding the clergy to marry, on pain of deprivation; as also the eating of meat in lent, and speaking against the invocation of the saints. At the same time, however, they required the priests to put away their concubines, under a like penalty: and they assured the people of Zurich of their friendly disposition towards them. Disputes frequently arose in the city, on account of the contrary doctrines preached by the friends and the opponents of the reformation. Heim, a Dominican, having said in the pulpit, "that Jesus Christ had not alone, as the new evangelists taught, made satisfaction for us, but that each one must make it for himself;" two of his hearers exclaimed, that he taught false

doctrine. The offenders were committed to prison; and the council caused both them, and Heim, and Sebastian Meyer,<sup>1</sup> the reformer, to be brought before them; and, having heard the two latter dispute together for some time, they resolved, in hope of promoting the peace of the city, to banish them both from it. Haller however still continued to prosecute his labours at Berne. In the month of November, the council renewed, for substance, their two former edicts, commanding that the gospel should be faithfully preached, but that at the same time the customary observances should be retained.

In the former part of the ensuing year, the proceedings of the council were more decidedly favourable. As before observed, they adopted, but with considerable improvements, the scheme of reformation proposed by the Roman-catholic cantons. In doing this, they allowed every one to think and act as he pleased respecting the recitation of the canonical hours, the doctrine of purgatory, and some other particulars: they resolved not to deprive married priests: they forbade absolutely the sale of indulgences, and the admission of strangers, sent by the court of Rome, to benefices: and, "as the bishops and other ecclesiastical judges did not punish offending churchmen as they deserved, but rather connived at their crimes, (by which means wickedness daily increased, and disturbed the good order of society)," they determined in future to punish such persons in the same manner as their lay fellow-subjects. They also sanctioned the reading of the scriptures, and of books which were conformable to them: and they concluded with enjoining the different parties to live in peace, and to abstain from mutual reproaches.—In all this we read with pleasure of what tended to open the door to the admission and diffusion of divine truth. Not only did a Carthusian monk, who

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 52, 53.

was much respected, now surprise the people of Berne by quitting his order and marrying; but, towards the end of the year, Watteville, provost of the cathedral, "a man as much esteemed for his character and learning as for his rank," voluntarily resigned his dignity and the other benefices which he held, and married a lady of the first respectability. It is especially noticed that this was done with the consent of the lady's father and brothers: for a little time before such a marriage would have been thought impious, and therefore disgraceful. Watteville had been in favour with the pope and many prelates, and had the prospect of being himself advanced to the episcopate; but "regard to liberty of conscience," says Stetler, and, Ruchat adds also, "the love of God and of truth, and concern for his own salvation, banished from his heart ambition, the love of riches, and the hope of advancing himself in life."

Mulhausen, a small independent town,<sup>1</sup> a member of the Swiss confederation, though situate beyond the frontiers, in Alsace, had the honour of even preceding Zurich in the abolition of the mass. In the year 1523, Ulric Hutten, a friend, though a somewhat intemperate friend, of the reformation resided there: and at the same time Augustine Kremer preached the gospel zealously. The magistrates, however, at that period resisted any further changes than the following: that baptism should be administered in the vulgar tongue: that the children in the school should learn to sing the Psalms in German; that the people should receive the eucharist in both kinds; and that, in lieu of matins, they should have sermons and prayers. Even this drew upon the town an excommunication from the bishop of Basle: but the magistrates treated it with contempt. The next year they required the priests either to separate from their con-

<sup>1</sup> Still protestant, and a prosperous place: its territory comprised within a precinct of eight miles. Coxe, Letter 17.

cabines, or to marry them; and ordered a public discussion to be held, to which they invited assistance from Basle: after the close of which they abolished the mass.

At Basle, Ecolampadius prosecuted his labours with indefatigable zeal and great success. His acknowledged wisdom, the evangelical purity of his doctrine, and the sanctity of his life, conciliated for him the greatest veneration, and drew crowded audiences constantly to hear him; amongst whom the principles which he inculcated made a rapid progress. The number of his fellow-labourers also increased. Wolfgang Weissenburg, minister of the parish of the Hospital, Mark Bersi of S. Leonard's parish, Thomas Ghierfalk, preacher of the Augustinians, besides those previously mentioned,<sup>1</sup> are enumerated: and they were all supported by Caspar Schaller, the secretary of the government. The opposition also made to them was powerful and acrimonious: but it proved unsuccessful.

Many attempts being made, partly by friends of the reformation and partly by its enemies, to withdraw or otherwise remove Ecolampadius from Basle, it was in some measure for the purpose of more firmly fixing him there, that he was at this time presented to the living of S. Martin's church, of which he had served the curacy with very little remuneration for a year past. He accepted the appointment on condition that he should preach whatever he found in the scriptures, and that the popish ceremonies should be dispensed with. Accordingly baptism was in his church administered in the vulgar tongue, and the eucharist given in both kinds; and he preached in so forcible a manner against the mass, purgatory, the use of holy water, the processions, and other observances or doctrines of the church of Rome, as brought them into neglect with the chaplains dependent on his

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 29, 61.

church. On his appointment to S. Martin's, expectations of considerable emolument were held out to him, with the prospect of further preferment: but he declined them all, declaring that he desired nothing beyond a decent subsistence.

The principal citizens now proceeded to demand of the Franciscans, that, in lieu of the numerous masses which were said, and of which the people understood nothing, they should cause "a short sermon of half an hour" to be preached to them every morning, in their church: but the monks replied, "that week-day sermons savoured of Lutheranism." The citizens, in consequence of this refusal, withheld their alms from these mendicants.—The council soon after signified to the abbess and nuns of the convent of Klingenthal, that, as their mode of life had no sanction from scripture, they were at liberty to quit the house: and that those who chose to do so should be provided for, either in married life or in any other honest state: while those who chose to remain might do it, but must maintain a conduct free from reproach.

The year following, the government extended the same liberty to all the other convents and religious houses. The divisions, however, to which these proceedings gave occasion among the magistrates as well as among the people, were so great, that several of the reformed ministers were intimidated, and Ocolampadius was once led to complain, that he was left to labour alone. But he went forward in his work undismayed, and on All-Saints' day, 1525, administered the eucharist "with a simplicity that had never before been seen" in Basle. The ministers of S. Leonard's and S. Alban's churches copied his example: but they were ordered to restore the mass; while the weight of Ocolampadius's character protected his procedure from all censure.—How strikingly has this meek and holy man "added to his faith virtue," (boldness,) since the time when timidity and morbid

feeling impelled him to resign one situation after another, because he could not contend with prevailing evils, and with persons to whom the truth was offensive and irritating.<sup>1</sup>

At S. Gallen considerable progress was made through the zealous ministry of John Kesler, lately returned from Wittenberg, and Wolfgang Ulman, late a monk of Coire; and under the prudent management of the council, who now, after the example of Zurich, caused the images to be withdrawn from the churches without noise or tumult. They likewise published a decree, requiring the preachers to teach conformably to the scriptures alone. A visit also, which Leo Jude and Sebastian Hoffman made to the city, is said to have been very serviceable.

In Appenzel, the general assembly of the people decreed, that the ministers should preach nothing which they could not support from the scriptures, on pain of banishment; that abuses should be abolished, but not the good and laudable rites of the church. The reformation had here many partizans, among both the clergy and the laity. The mass, in consequence of the decree just mentioned, suffered some intermission, but was restored again till the year 1526: when both it and images were abolished throughout that part of the canton, amounting to about two-thirds of the whole, which still belongs to the reformed.

From Appenzel the light of the gospel penetrated into the Rheinthal, chiefly through the agency of some pious women: but, complaints being made of this to the ancient cantons, who, with Appenzel, were lords of the country, the majority of them ordered the bailiff to seize every Lutheran whom he could find there. The check however was temporary, and the reformation afterwards made progress, and was established in the country.

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 34—35.

At Schaffhausen the reformation made important advances in the year 1524. There were at that place two considerable abbeys, one for men, the other for women. The abbot of the former, after due consultation with the members of the house, surrendered it to the magistrates, desiring that, after the necessary allowances had been made to the present inmates, the surplus of the funds might be applied to the support of the churches, of schools, and of the poor. The abbess followed his example.—The council, in their proceedings had recourse to the advice of (Ecolampadius, and they now gave to Ritter, (before-mentioned,') Wolfgang Biderman of Rothweil, Beatus Guering of Zurich, and Benedict Burgawer of S. Gallen, for his coadjutors. Some heady and indiscreet friends of the reformation, however, much prejudiced its cause by taking upon them, of their own authority, to break and throw down images; by which they incurred fines and imprisonment, or banishment. The bishop of Constance availed himself of the circumstance, to entreat the citizens to return to that dutiful obedience to the church, which could alone secure their tranquillity. But the magistrates replied, that there was nothing which they more earnestly desired than to have the pure word of God preached to them. The next year still more disturbance was excited, which would hardly have been quieted without bloodshed, but for the timely interference of the deputies of Basle and Rothweil, who happened to be present in the town. These disorders issued in the dismissal of Hoffmeister and Hoffman, and the progress of the reformation for the time received a check at Schaffhausen. So much do men obstruct, or even defeat, their own objects, by aiming to attain them in a rash and improper manner.

At Bienne, Wytttenbach, who had not yet passed his fifty-second year, married in 1524, and his exam-

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 91.

ple was followed by several other priests: who also joined him in omitting the celebration of private masses—or masses in which the people were only spectators. But the attention of the cantons being called to these facts by Lewis Sterner, secretary of the government of Bienne, and a zealous papist, they strongly censured the council of that place, for not having deposed the offenders, pronouncing the conduct of these persons, in contracting marriage, to be antichristian and subversive of religion. Wytttenbach submitted to the council a written defence of himself and his brethren, in which he mainly argues as a pastor, bound by his fidelity to contend for the principles of God's word against the impositions of men. But, in compliance with the demand of the cantons, the married clergy were deprived. We are told, however, that Wytttenbach continued to preach as successfully in a convent as he had done in the church, and by his meekness, benevolence, and piety increased in general esteem; while his adversary, Sterner, drew upon himself disgust and hatred.

The next year therefore, when the council required of the burghers a renewal of their oaths of fidelity, they, in return, presented several demands to the council, among which were the following: That the word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testaments, should be freely preached to them: that Dr. Wytttenbach should be restored, should preach in the principal church on Sundays and holidays, and should have a liberal salary assigned him: that a competent schoolmaster should be appointed, who might train their children in Christian knowledge: that public immoralities should be restrained: and that masses for the dead should be discontinued, as unsupported by the scriptures, and of no use. The council yielded to these demands: but the cantons, assembled at Lucerne, wrote to the bishop of Basle, who possessed a nominal sovereignty over Bienne, requesting him to interpose both as a prince and a bishop. His



efforts however were feeble: the Bernese encouraged the people of Bienne: the obnoxious secretary consulted his safety by flight; though he was afterwards restored: and the magistrates proceeded to abolish the mass, and apparently to follow in the steps of Zurich. Nor did the threats which the cantons subsequently addressed to them, on account of the encouragement which they gave to "the infamous and abominable Lutheran or Zwinglian sect and heresy," induce them to alter their course.

Wytenbach died two years after, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. This excellent man, a short time before his death, caused the principal members of the council to be called to his bedside, and told them, "That he looked for nothing else than to die very soon, and to go to give account to God of the ministry which had been committed to him." He solemnly declared his conviction "that he had preached to them nothing but the truth, and exhorted them to hold it fast, and suffer nothing to turn them aside from it; assuring them that thus they might depend on attaining eternal life."

The Tockenbourg was the native country of Zwingle. It acknowledged the abbot of S. Gallen for its temporal lord. The reformed doctrine was introduced into this district by Maurice Miles, John Doering, and Blaise Farer, respectively pastors of Watvyl, Hemberg, and Zum Stein. The council, at the request of the people of the country, ordered that the ministers should preach uniformly according to the purity of the gospel, without the addition of human dogmas and ordinances. The bishop of Constance complained of the innovators to the abbot of S. Gallen, and the abbot forwarded his complaints to the council: who, in consequence, summoned the preachers before them. The preachers pleaded that they had only acted in conformity with the decree which had been promulgated; and the council admitted their plea, and renewed the former order. The council

of Schweitz, which canton had a special alliance with Tockenbourg, wrote to them with vehemence against the doctrine of Luther and Zwingle, holding out threats if they continued to encourage it: but they sent the letter to Zwingle, begging him to answer it, and defend his countrymen; which he did with zeal and spirit. The following year the mass was abolished in four parishes. Schweitz and Glaris made great efforts to compel their neighbours to retrace their steps: but in vain. Some of the council indeed were intimidated, but the majority stood firm, and resolved to take the opinion of the several communities of the country; and these unanimously determined to adhere to the word of God, and begged the council to support the orders they had already issued.

Some disposition in favour of the reformation had manifested itself in Thurgau, when the deputies of five out of the seven cantons, then lords of that district, ordered the priests throughout the country to retain and strictly observe all the usages of the church, under pain of deprivation and other severe penalties. Notwithstanding this order, several parishes by degrees renounced the popish doctrines and practices; the inhabitants going to hear the reformed preachers at Constance, Stein on the Rhine, Elk, and other places, and taking their children to be baptized by them. Even the inmates of the nunnery of Munsterlingen, near the lake of Constance, went to hear the preachers at Constance, disregarded the prohibition of meats, and gave other indications of casting off the old superstitions.

The government of the Grisons, in the year 1524, imitated the example of the popish cantons, who, it has been seen, enacted or rather proposed laws for the reformation of the clergy, as a means of checking the progress of innovation. In a diet held at Hantz, the capital of the Grey League, it was decreed, among other particulars, that parish priests should

discharge their duty in instructing the people according to the word of God: and that, if they failed of doing this, or were found incompetent to do it, the parishioners should have liberty to choose others in their stead. In this and the following year, the inhabitants of the valley of S. Anthony, of Flesch, and of Malantz, in the high jurisdiction of Mayenfeld, though surrounded by powerful neighbours addicted to the principles of the Romish church, embraced with one consent the reformed doctrine, and abolished the mass. This produced so strong an impression, that within a short time the new doctrine began to be preached by many priests, and was eagerly listened to by the people in various places throughout the three Leagues. More than forty learned and zealous men are enumerated, who preached the gospel faithfully in this country, encountering persecution, and several of them sacrificing very considerable prospects in life for the sake of it.

“The conversion of John Frick, parish priest of Mayenfeld, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions when they first made their appearance. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress which he saw them making in his immediate neighbourhood, he repaired to Rome to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult on the best method of preventing his native country being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, returning home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfeld. In his old age he used to say to his friends pleasantly, that he learned the gospel at Rome.”—In the mean time the clergy, *roused from their slumbers*, had recourse to every *means in their power* to check the progress of the

new opinions. "Bonds of adherence to the catholic faith were exacted from the parish priests. The most odious and horrid representations of the reformers and their tenets were circulated among the people." Anabaptists, banished from Switzerland, were encouraged, that by their extravagances the reformation might be disgraced. When the general diet of the Grison republic met at Coire, in the year 1525, the bishop (Paul Ziegler) and clergy presented a formal accusation against Comander and the other reformed preachers, to the number of forty, praying that they might be punished by the secular arm for propagating impious, scandalous, and seditious heresies. Comander, in the name of his brethren, declared his readiness to vindicate his doctrines against these charges: in consequence of which a day was appointed for a conference, or disputation between the two parties, at Ilantz, in the presence of certain members of the diet. On this occasion the reformed were assisted by Hoffmeister and James Amman, professor of Greek at Zurich. The vicar-general of the bishop of Coire, the abbot of S. Lucius in that city, a protonotary of the apostolic see, and numerous canons and priests, and many persons from distant parts attended; but, as usual, the Roman-catholics endeavoured to evade discussion, and cried out against recurrence to the Greek and Hebrew scriptures as unnecessary, and productive of disorders; and the conference was abruptly broken off. But the result was decidedly favourable. An accession of seven fresh names was made to the number of reformed preachers; the articles which had been submitted for discussion, being printed, and circulated through the valleys, multiplied converts among the laity; henceforth the free exercise of the reformed as well as of the Roman-catholic religion was granted throughout the three Leagues; and the consequence was the permanent establishment of the reformation in the country. Some difficulties indeed followed

soon after, owing to an article for the maintenance of the ancient religion, which the bishop had sufficient influence to have inserted in a treaty, and under colour of which Gallitz, "whose talents and success rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the abettors of popery," was banished, and "several of his brethren were obliged to retire from the country to avoid the processes intended against them. But the city of Coire, in spite of their bishop, maintained Comander in his situation: this example was followed in other places; and, though the clergy endeavoured to push the advantage which they had gained, they found that a spirit was abroad in the nation too powerful for all their efforts." A statute, which "remains to this day the charter of religious liberty in the Grisons, was formally sealed and solemnly confirmed by the oaths of all the deputies at Ilantz, on the 26th of June, 1526:" and "a national reformation was introduced, which so far as it went must have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the state, and to individuals whether popish or protestant."<sup>1</sup>

We now return to the affairs of Zurich. The other cantons were at this time very urgent in pressing the citizens of Zurich to adhere to the religion of their ancestors, and to return to it in those points in which they had most obviously deviated from it. Even those which mediated for them with the more hostile would fain have induced them to restore the mass. The council however held firmly to it, that they had made no changes but, as they apprehended, in conformity with the word of God, and that they could not retract what they had done unless they were convinced from that word that they had fallen into error. In the end the Bernese very honourably declared their determination not to desert the people of Zurich, or

<sup>1</sup> M'Crie's Italy, &c.

to agree to their exclusion from the general diet; in short, to give them no molestation.

At the beginning of the year 1526, the proposal of a discussion or disputation, to be held at Baden, was renewed. The proposition came from the cantons, assembled at Lucerne. At first only five cantons concurred in it; while Berne objected to it altogether, but thought that if the meeting took place at all it should rather be at Basle, the seat of an university, and the residence of numerous learned men, than at Baden. The government of Basle, however, had no ambition of the honour of having such an assembly held in their city. Afterwards six, and ultimately twelve cantons acceded to the measure. Faber, Eckius, and Thomas Murner, a Franciscan professor of divinity at Lucerne, were zealous promoters of it; as also certain Austrians and Suabians are said to have been, who flattered themselves with a triumphant result, and hoped that, if the reformation were overthrown in Switzerland, it would not long survive in Germany. The bishops of Constance, Basle, Sion, and Lausanne promised the assistance of their representatives and divines. All disclaimed however the power, as well as the will, to make any religious changes; and, as good and dutiful sons resolved, at all events, to adhere steadfastly to their holy mother the church of Rome. Zwingli and the other divines of Zurich were invited to attend: but the council refused them leave to go, on grounds similar to those which they had assigned on the former occasion: and Zwingli himself entertained the same views of the design formed against him as he had before done. He however renewed his offer of attending a meeting at Berne, S. Gallen, or any other secure and independent place.

Certain other events which occurred at this juncture had any other tendency rather than to allay the distrust of *the reformed*. On the 10th of May, only *six days before the meeting was to take place*, Faber,

as official of the bishop of Constance, with two abbots, and some doctors of law, held a consistory at Mersburg, near Constance, for the examination of John Huglin, minister of Lindau; when, after having required him to renounce Lutheranism, which he refused to do, they condemned him to be degraded and delivered over to the secular arm to be burned: which cruel punishment the good man endured with Christian constancy, offering up prayers for his persecutors. Another reformed preacher also, Peter Spengler, was seized by order of the bishop of Constance, and drowned at Friburg in Brisgau.

The meeting at Baden took place, and was attended by a large number of persons, most of them devoted Romanists. Œcolampadius, Haller, Weissenburg, Burgawer, Wetter, and several other ministers from Basle, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, Appenzel, and Mulhausen, also presented themselves; ready to take a part in the debate. Erasmus was solicited to give his assistance: but, as usual, he excused himself on the plea of delicate health. It may be thought that as Œcolampadius appeared, and was exposed to no violence, Zwingle might have done the same. Œcolampadius however was of a different opinion. He is said at first to have felt dissatisfaction at the absence of his friend, but afterwards he wrote to him, "I thank God that you are not here. The turn which matters have taken makes me clearly perceive, that had you been present we should *neither* of us have escaped the stake."

It will not be necessary to enter into the details of this disputation, especially as the Acts were never published otherwise than in a very corrupted state. It lasted eighteen days, during which no sermons were permitted except from the Roman-catholic preachers; and processions were celebrated with great pomp and ostentation. Eckius was throughout the leading character; and next to him Murner. For the former a splendid chair was placed; and a

very humble one for Œcolampadius, as the leader on the other side. Eckius proposed to maintain seven theses, chiefly asserting the doctrines of the mass, the invocation of the saints, the use of images, and purgatory: and Murner added two to them, one justifying the adoration of the host, and the withholding of the cup from the laity, and the other charging the alienation of church property as injustice and robbery. But it does not appear that his articles were ever discussed. It was observed that no native Swiss came forward on this occasion in defence of the Romish tenets: nearly the whole support of them devolving on Eckius, who was even a stranger to the country. It was also made a matter of complaint, that, while Eckius and those of his party indulged in whatever declamations they pleased, the speakers on the other side were silenced as soon as they uttered any thing free and spirited in reply to their adversaries, or against their doctrines.

At the close of the discussion, all the ecclesiastics present were desired to testify by their subscriptions their assent to the theses of Eckius, or to the sentiments of Œcolampadius in opposition to them. The great majority signed the former, while the reformed subscribed the latter, except that a few admitted the doctrine of the corporal presence. The deputies of nine cantons then joined in an edict assigning the victory to Eckius and his friends, and forbidding all innovations, under severe penalties. They likewise prohibited the sale of the works of Zwingle, Luther, and their followers; and the printing of any books which had not been examined and approved by commissioners to be appointed for that service. And, as Zwingle, "the author of the novel doctrine in Switzerland, had not appeared to answer for himself, they adjudged him and all who had not now retracted their errors, to be proscribed and excommunicated, as Luther had been by the emperor Charles V, and pope Leo X."—Though Zwingle remained at home,



he was not an unconcerned or idle spectator of the distant combat. He addressed to the cantons a written refutation of Eckius's theses; and further published repeated answers to Eckius and Faber, both of whom appear to have entered more or less into the controversy with him by writing.

Though the Romanists affected to make much of their victory at Baden, yet strong circumstances are adduced to shew that they had little real confidence in it, and were ill-disposed to submit the proofs of it to public examination. The cantons of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, as being parties concerned, and of equal authority with any others, demanded to be allowed to inspect the authentic records of the proceedings; but they were never permitted to see them: on which account they refused all further concern with them. The following year, when the reformed had done all in their power to urge and even compel the publication of the Acts, the other nine cantons committed the care of publishing them to Murner; and they were accordingly printed at Lucerne, but not till the year 1528; and then in the most negligent and slovenly manner. In short, Murner could never shake off the charge of having mutilated and corrupted the documents, to suit his own pleasure: and for this and other unwarrantable proceedings he may even be said to have afterwards suffered punishment, his own party being unable to defend or excuse him. The practical fruits also of victory appeared to be with the reformed; for in many places (some of which have already been enumerated,) their cause evidently made progress immediately after the disputation of Baden, and in consequence of it.

It was at this time that Pellican was called from Basle to Zurich, to the professorship of Hebrew, which had been vacated by the early death of Ceperinus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 22, 23.

His modesty would have led him to decline an appointment for which he was eminently qualified ; but the urgency of his friends overcame his objections, and he found cause to rejoice in the change he had made. His settlement at Zurich added to the attractions which drew to that city many strangers, who rejoiced to find a place where they could both cultivate learning with advantage, and study and profess the gospel without molestation.

At Berne there seemed for a time reason to fear a retrograde movement. The council indeed passed some acts tending to abridge the power of the clergy and the influence of the bishop ; but the more zealous Roman-catholic cantons now prevailed upon the citizens, in a popular assembly, to resolve that they would not separate themselves from the other cantons, and would make no innovations in religion ; and, in order to this, even to forbid the reading of books contrary to the ancient faith ; and to enjoin the removal of all married priests from their country. And very rashly and most improperly they bound themselves by an oath to adhere to this edict. Still however Haller, on his return from Baden, was well received, and confirmed in his office of pastor. But the senate, or little council, called him before them, and ordered him to celebrate the mass, on pain of deprivation and banishment. This he declined to do, and claimed to be heard before the supreme council. With difficulty this indulgence was granted him : but the council was much divided, and the debate upon the question became so stormy, that the people began to collect for the protection of their pastor. At length he obtained a peaceable hearing. He expressed his deep regret that he had proved the occasion of any discords among the magistrates or the citizens, and declared himself ready to quit the canton rather than this should continue to be the case. He was still most willing to have his doctrine tried by the sacred scriptures ; and, if it were found

that he had taught contrary to them, to submit to such punishment as he should be adjudged to deserve. He could not consent to celebrate mass, being convinced that it was a gross perversion of Christ's ordinance; but he would instantly resign his canonry, if required so to do—for sorry should he be to have it thought that he preferred his own interest, either to truth and the glory of God, or to the peace of the city. He spoke, we are told, in so forcible and touching a manner that even some of his enemies were wrought upon. Little however to the honour of the council, Haller's tender of the resignation of his canonry was accepted. But his appointment as pastor was renewed, with the promise of a competent salary, and the direction that, "in conformity with the former edicts, he should preach whatever could be proved from the word of God;" and his celebration of the mass was dispensed with. This decision gave so much dissatisfaction to some considerable families, that they were induced to remove from Berne.

Haller's duties proving more than his strength would bear, Francis Colbius, who had been a preacher at Berne fourteen years before, but had quitted his situation, and retired into a convent at Nuremberg, from discouragement at the disregard shewn for his zealous protests against mercenary warfare and other prevailing evils, was recalled, and appointed the coadjutor of Haller. He faithfully laboured at Berne till his death, in 1535, at the age of seventy years.

In the month of April, 1527, the council of Berne, perceiving the bearings of the public mind, and convinced, we may presume, that even the oath which had been rashly taken could not bind the people for ever to retain their errors, resolved to bring before the communities of the country the two decrees, that of 1523 and that of 1526, the one enjoining the free and unrestrained preaching of the word of God, and the other prohibiting all innova-

tion, and to call upon them to make their election to which they would adhere. The decision was generally made in favour of the former: and the council, acting upon it, issued a new edict, cancelling the decree of the preceding year, restoring that of 1523, and making such additions to it as existing circumstances seemed to require. The consequence was the rapid spread of the reformation in the canton, and before the end of the year, though no public abolition of the mass had taken place, that fundamental and idolatrous rite of the Romish church was renounced by numerous tribes in the city, and in many districts of the country.

On the other hand, the zealous Roman-catholic cantons did not fail to exert themselves, and even to devise means for the extirpation of the reformed. The league, which formed the basis of the Helvetic union, contained an article providing that their confederation should be from time to time renewed. Such a renewal the seven cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Underwalden, Zug, Friburg, and Soleure resolved should now take place; but they determined that the cantons of Zurich and Basle, and the towns of S. Gallen and Mulhausen, should have no part in the renewal of the alliance with them. Berne, Glaris, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel had not yet gone far enough to subject themselves to such an exclusion. With these four therefore the seven cantons renewed their relations; while the four did the same with the rejected states. Thus was the Swiss league, on the ground of religious differences, divided into two parts; though there remained, in the cantons common to the two, some connecting links to prevent the entire dissolution of their union. Such a state of things tended directly to civil war; a fatal consummation, which, though it was warded off for some time longer, it is to be feared, neither party took due care to avert. The pope and the heads of the Romish church were glad to fan the

flames of discord: but here, as in Germany, they were prevented from doing all they would have wished, by the occupation found in other quarters for the powers on which they would principally have relied for support. Ferdinand had full employment in Hungary, and the pope and the king of France were at war with the emperor. The popish cantons endeavoured to draw the Vallaisans to join them against Zurich—an object in which they afterwards succeeded. These poor people were extremely ignorant; so much so, it is said, as scarcely to know what was meant by the holy scriptures: but, led by some better informed persons, they at this time returned a very sensible answer to the application: “This,” said they, “is a dispute about religion: and, as the people of Zurich profess themselves ready to be convinced from the scriptures, (which both parties acknowledge,) let it be left to be settled between the priests and the reformed ministers.”

Early in the year 1527, the four friendly cantons sent a deputation to Zurich, to deliberate with the council on the means of restoring the connexion of that canton with the seven which had rejected its alliance. The council put into their hands fourteen articles of complaint, which they had against the hostile cantons; one of which was, their having prohibited the reading of the scriptures, and of books founded on the scriptures, in Thurgau and other dependencies over which Zurich exercised jurisdiction in common with the opposing cantons. On this subject they pleaded on the true grounds of religious liberty. “Though every one,” said they, “is subject to the supreme magistrate with respect to temporal goods and external things, yet this extends not to matters affecting the soul and conscience. Here our subjection is only to God; and his laws alone can be acknowledged. On these subjects we can never submit to constraint, and to human judg-

ment.”<sup>1</sup> They concluded with repeating, that they could never give up their religion till they were convinced from the word of God that it was wrong; and remarking, that “the treaties which bound the cantons together related not to religion, but to temporal safety, honour, and interest.”—The seven cantons, on the other hand, being assembled at Lucerne, and feeling ill-satisfied with some late communications from Berne, particularly on the subject of the Acts of the disputation of Baden, wrote to that state, calling upon it not to separate from its allies in the matter of religion, but to summon its communes to meet, and deliberate upon the question in a general assembly. Most presumptuously and offensively they added, that, in case the council refused to do this, they themselves would take upon them to inform the subjects of Berne of the design which their governors entertained to innovate in religion, and of the complaints which the other cantons had against them on that ground. To this insulting message the council replied, that they were determined to adhere to the sentiments they had lately expressed; and that they did not deem it needful to convoke their people: much less would they suffer deputies from the other cantons to intrude among them. It was only a few weeks after this correspondence, that the important change of measures, which has been related above, took place at Berne.<sup>2</sup>

A general diet of the cantons was soon after held at Berne, at which the means of reuniting the whole confederation were considered: but the grounds of division were too important, and the spirits of men were too much embittered, to allow of a successful issue to their deliberations. While some also were

<sup>1</sup> I shall never cease to hail such sentiments, and on all fit occasions to present them to my readers, without any fear (whatever some from without may surmise,) of going contrary to the principles of the church of which I am a member.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 136-7.

studying to promote union, others seemed bent only upon widening the breach and inflaming resentment. Among the latter, Murner distinguished himself by a furious book directed against Zurich and Berne.

Nor was it only within the limits of Switzerland, and from their immediate neighbours, that the reformed now encountered enemies, and suffered disturbance. The regency of Austria<sup>1</sup> seized all such revenues of hospitals, religious houses, and other institutions, belonging to Zurich and Berne, as arose within the territories subject to the Austrian jurisdiction. The two cantons, being unable to obtain any redress, were driven to adopt measures of reprisal.

Towards Mulhausen, which, it will be remembered, though a member of the confederation, lay without the limits of Switzerland, the same power acted with still greater harshness. The regency accused this little state to the cantons, of having countenanced the rebellious subjects of the house of Austria in Alsace; and, not content with that, and as if to shew the real ground of quarrel with it, they confiscated the goods of the ministers of the town; and even seizing the persons of two of them carried them off to Einsisheim, and there beheaded them. They seized a third in his church; but the citizens pursuing the captors rescued him. This the regency made a fresh ground of charge, and of long-continued proceedings against the town. The inhabitants in vain implored the succour of their allies: but at length the cantons, being assembled at Lucerne, sent deputies to Mulhausen to inquire into the state of religion there, promising protection to the place in case things were put upon their ancient footing in that respect, but declaring that unless this were done they would abandon it to its fate. The council nobly replied, "That they had directed their ministers to preach to them the unadulterated word of God, and in compliance with that word had abolished some intolerable

<sup>1</sup> Governing in the absence of the emperor.

abuses : that, if any would now charge their teachers with having delivered to them unscriptural doctrine, they would put those teachers upon their defence; but that, great as was their desire to meet the wishes of their allies, they could not in compliance with them go contrary to their consciences." They still continued to be persecuted, but without their constancy being at all shaken.

Cappel, situate midway between the towns of Zurich and Zug, was the seat of a monastery, of which Wolfgang Joner was the present abbot. As far back as the year 1523, he had appointed the celebrated Bullinger reader in theology in his monastery; and that great man continued during six years to labour there, indefatigably, to enlighten and improve the inhabitants and those who resorted thither; preaching in the abbey church, and in various neighbouring places, as well as lecturing in the monastery. In the year 1526, the mass was superseded by the eucharist administered with primitive simplicity. The year following the whole society, with the abbot at their head, "considering that monasteries were designed to be places of instruction for training youth in religion and good learning," and that they had now ceased to answer such a purpose, surrendered their establishment into the hands of the lords of Zurich: by whom, in concert with the abbot, it was converted into a college, from which many learned and excellent men have proceeded; and the property of the convent was strictly appropriated, and faithfully applied, to the three objects of supporting scholars, relieving the poor, and improving the salaries of the ministers of the gospel. The church was made a parochial one, and three neighbouring villages were attached to it as such.

At Basle some further changes now occurred. The bishop, Christopher d'Uttenheim, worn down with age, and harassed with the difficulties of the times, resigned his bishopric in February, 1527, and died a



month after. Philip de Gundelsheim, a native of Franconia, was appointed his successor. But he never set foot in the city. The Roman-catholic preachers, however, among whom Augustine Marius, pastor of the cathedral, and titular bishop of Salona, was distinguished, used their utmost efforts to support their tottering cause: and, as contentions hence arose which were unfavourable alike to religious edification and to the peace of the city, Œcolampadius proposed to Marius a public discussion, either *viva voce* or by writing, in which their differences might be fairly examined. Marius was so much offended at the proposal, that he complained of it to the magistrates as a proceeding which called for their animadversion. The magistrates, however, as the mass was a main point in dispute, and that on which they themselves felt most difficulty, ordered each party to present to them in writing their reasons, the one for believing that the mass was a most sacred divine ordinance, a sacrifice expiatory of the sins of the living and the dead; the other for regarding it as an abomination in the sight of God—a sacrilegious insult to “the one offering of Jesus Christ.” The reformed readily complied with the demand; and presented a writing signed by Œcolampadius and six other ministers. Marius also assigned his reasons in writing, but accompanied by a protest, that this was not to be taken in prejudice of the rights and authority of the bishop and chapter, his lawful superiors, who disapproved of submitting such subjects to the consideration of the civil magistrate. Much discussion followed: but it ended for the present in the magistrates authorizing each party to act with respect to the mass as their consciences dictated, but requiring them to restrain their mutual attacks upon each other, that they might not break the peace of the town. The number of holidays, however, was now much abridged by the authority of the magistrates: and both the Augustinian and Franciscan monks

surrendered their convents, and quitted the habits of their respective orders.

At a time when our history is painfully barren of spiritual and edifying matter, and when the proceedings of diets and magistrates occupy too large a share of our attention, it may be some relief to the Christian reader to peruse a letter which Capito wrote from Strasburg "to his brethren at Basle," in the midst of the present unsettled and even disturbed state of their affairs. It is dated September, 1527. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, brethren beloved in the Lord!... We cannot but judge you very happy, in that, after having tasted the good word of God, you are now undergoing purification from the corruptions of the flesh by means of affliction. For from these lessons you derive a subdued spirit, of which they remain destitute, who, while they riot in the unrestrained use of the word, live in sloth and injurious ease. For it is more easy to keep fish alive without water, than to preserve spirituality of mind amid the smiles of the world. *He* gives us assurance of this who declares, that unless we take up our cross daily, and follow him, we cannot be his disciples. The disciple is not to enjoy a better condition than his master. They persecuted him, and we must expect that they will persecute us. So the matter stands: we hate the world, and the world hates us. But this is in different senses: they, from hatred of the glory of God, seek to destroy us; while we, impelled by zeal for the divine honour, hate nothing in them but what spoils them for the Creator's service, and tends to their own destruction. We earnestly desire, if it may accord with the will of God, to reclaim them from the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, to the enjoyment of eternal felicity. —Are you then branded with public ignominy? This does but lead to that everlasting glory which is reserved for *God's elect*. Are you deprived of your *goods and fortunes*? You shall receive a hundred

fold more, and in the world to come eternal life. Are you banished your country, and put to a shameful death? In heaven you have an enduring city, and shall enjoy a blissful immortality. They therefore, who, with Christ, gain the victory over their enemies by laying down their lives, triumph in a better world ere the flames can well have consumed their bodies in this world. . . . So far, then, from being afflicted when we hear of the deaths of the unshaken confessors of the faith, we magnify the glory and power of the Lord in them, with minds overflowing with joy—even though numbers should daily be thus transmitted to Christ. For we see the minds of the weak and doubting even confirmed by such examples. In proportion, therefore, to the testimony given to the power and grace of the exalted Saviour, the brand of infamy may be esteemed the badge of honour, to those who avow the faith and suffer for it. The number, indeed, of those who sacrifice their lives among you is smaller, because such is the will of God, that the tender plants, being only, as it were, watered by the gentle rains, may grow up into strong trees. Nor do I doubt that you will find these gifts of God bestowed upon you more richly than I, with my small measure of the Spirit, can set forth: for, when the persecutor rages, and surrounding circumstances are alarming, we fly to God more promptly and effectually than *he* can do, with his utmost efforts, who is at ease, and surrounded with worldly comforts. I realize to myself, that, as you constantly occupy the field of battle, you daily find in your hearts a lively experience of the love of God; since the most assured sense of God's presence is produced when his fatherly providence rescues us from snares, and delivers us from dangers, and when the strength of his grace banishes human timidity and weakness. But especially is this effect—this assured sense of the divine presence with us—produced, when, as afflictions abound, consolations superabound; which you

will find still more and more to be the case as you advance beyond the first elementary steps of religion—as indeed I must judge that you have already done. In the mean time be watchful, and earnest in prayers to God that he would suffer you to embrace nothing contrary to his glory and the analogy of the faith. Such a course is highly necessary: for the simplicity of pious minds is assailed by various writings from all sides: so that there is need for the utmost caution in ‘trying the spirits, whether they be of God.’.. Our brother, the bearer of this letter, will inform you of the state and progress of our church. The servants of God here commend him to you affectionately. The Lord preserve you! Amen.”

Such documents as this discover to us the true spirit of the reformers, and must fill the Christian heart with veneration and love for their memory. The epistle before us breathes all that deadness to the world, that reconciliation to its frowns, and sense of the danger of its smiles; that confidence in God, and rejoicing in tribulation undergone for Christ’s sake; that fervent love of the brethren, and genuine benevolence for all men, even enemies and persecutors; which marked the apostles of Christ, and their associates and immediate successors.—It is full also of lessons for our own times. It describes that very languor, and apathy, and worldliness of spirit, into which our external repose betrays us. Nor was the caution at the close, concerning “proving all things, and holding fast that,” and that only, “which is good,” ever more necessary than it is for us; for now also “the simplicity of the pious is assailed by various writings from all sides,” of which not even all that proceed from good men can be safely received; and the diversity of which exposes many to the danger of retaining *nothing* steadily and firmly. Great need therefore have we “to watch, and to pray that God would not suffer us to embrace any thing contrary to his glory, and to the analogy of the

faith"—the standing doctrine of his true church, drawn from the scriptures, and handed down through all generations.

At Schaffhausen the reformation had received a check by the expulsion of Hoffmeister and Hoffman. Both the magistrates and the clergy seem to have been intimidated: and a temporising policy was adopted, which can never be the line of duty, of honour, of happiness, or of safety. Those who are involved in the trial, or, in other words, exposed to the temptation, may contrive to reconcile their consciences to it; but it is never approved when looked back upon, either by the persons themselves, or by more impartial spectators who judge by the word of God. "To follow the Lord fully," and leave all consequences with him, is the only wise and right path.

The state of things in Glaris, at this period, seems to have resembled that at Schaffhausen: though there also, as at the latter place, it subsequently became more favourable.

At S. Gallen the reformation decidedly gained ground. It was in the year 1526 that Vadian was elected first magistrate; and under his zealous and able direction the citizens followed closely in the steps of Zurich.

In the Tockenbourg a general assembly of the people was held in the month of August, 1527, at which all the inhabitants, whether natural born subjects or not, were allowed to attend—"because," said their governors, "religion and the glory of God, which are to be the topics for deliberation, are equally the concern of all men." After this meeting, the images and altars were demolished through a great part of the country. The abbot of S. Gallen, who had jurisdiction over the Tockenbourg, expostulated strongly against such proceedings, and even appeared personally in the council to oppose them: but his efforts were unavailing.

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The anabaptists still continued to trouble Switzerland, and ran into incredible extravagances and enormities, amounting in one well-attested instance, at least, to the deliberate commission of murder. A young man, in the presence of his father and a numerous family, demanded to take off the head of his brother, under the pretence of imitating Abraham's sacrifice of his son; and the brother actually submitted to the execution, with the exclamation, "Father, thy will be done!"

## CHAPTER V.

*Disputation of Berne—Reformation of that Canton—  
and of Basle—Erasmus—Soleure—Treaty of Aras  
—Conference of Marpurg—Anabaptists.*

THE great disputation of Berne, the chief of all those which were held in Switzerland, may be considered as the principal event of the following year, 1528. It was appointed by the grand council of that state by summons issued in the November preceding. Ten theses or articles were prepared for discussion by Haller and Colbius, which were transmitted to all the parties invited or expected to attend. The council earnestly solicited the four bishops of Lausanne, Basle, Constance, and Sion, who had jurisdiction within their dominions, to send deputies: distinctly intimating that their failure to do their duty, by endeavouring to heal the divisions of the afflicted church, might be followed by the loss of those prerogatives which they claimed within the territories of Berne. They invited deputations also from all the cantons, and the attendance of learned men from every part of Switzerland, and from the surrounding countries generally.

Most of the higher parties applied to discourage the project. The Roman-catholic cantons, assembled at Lucerne, refused to suffer any persons to pass through their territories to the proposed meeting.

The Friburgers, more violent than the rest, even endeavoured to excite the people of Berne to rise against their rulers. Nor did the emperor suffer his multiplied engagements to prevent his writing to the government, urging them to refer the whole question to a general council, and, in the mean time, to the approaching diet of Ratishon. But though the prelates, and most of the higher powers applied to, declined any participation in the meeting, yet a great number of ecclesiastics and learned men assembled from all parts of Switzerland and the surrounding countries. More than three hundred and fifty priests are said to have been present: and among the more celebrated names on the side of the reformed were reckoned Zwingle, Oecolampadius, Pellican, Bullinger, Haller, Blaurer, Capito, Bucer, Hoffmeister, Megander, Zingk, Conrad Schmidt, Imelin, Burgawer, Somius of Augsburg, Althamer of Nuremberg, Schappeler, Reust burgomaster of Zurich, and Vadian burgomaster of S. Gallen. The whole council of Berne also was present.

The meeting took place in the church of the Franciscans, and it lasted from the 7th to the 26th of January, inclusive, with the exception of only one day. Two sessions were held daily, and each session was opened with prayer. All persons concerned were regularly ranged in seats appropriated to them, according to the rank of the cantons or towns from which they were deputed. That every thing might be conducted in an orderly manner, and recorded with unimpeachable fidelity, four presidents—Vadian of S. Gallen, the dean of S. Peter's at Basle, the abbot of Gottstatt, and the commendator of Kusnacht—were chosen by the meeting, and two secretaries by each of the two parties. The secretaries were sworn to perform their duty faithfully, and the presidents engaged by solemn promise to enforce the rules agreed upon for the conduct of the discussion—one of which was, "*That no proof should be admitted*



but from scripture, nor any explanation of the proofs, which was not also supported by scripture."

The proceedings of this disputation are preserved to us in the authentic "Acts," published at Zurich, two months after its close. Bucer also has given us an account of it, at some length, in his dedication of his commentary on S. John to the magistrates and ministers of Berne. We have moreover a curious epistle addressed by a zealous Roman-catholic priest of Soleure, James of Munster, who was present, to his friend Sigismund of S. Trudo, a canon and eminent lawyer of Mentz, which fully confirms every representation of the unfavourable figure which his party made on this occasion. It will not be to our purpose to enter into detail: yet something may be drawn from each of these sources of information. Such discussions were evidently of signal service at the period of the reformation, when the people had less opportunity of being instructed by books than we now enjoy, and when all the mummeries of the popish worship, and all the antisciptural doctrines of the popish faith, which were to be exposed by being contrasted with the scriptures, were notorious to all men.

Haller, as a principal pastor of the town, brought forward the first proposition, which affirmed the fundamental principles that Christ is the only (spiritual) head of the church, and the written word of God the only rule of its faith. He explained and supported his proposition in a short speech, and was followed by Œcolampadius. Alexius Gratt, a Dominican of Berne, undertook to maintain the supremacy of S. Peter, and through him of the pope: for which one of his arguments was our Lord's having given to Peter the name of Cephas, which, said Gratt, "is a Greek word signifying a head, or chief." Haller informed him that the word was Syriac, and in the very passage referred to was explained to mean a rock or stone. Gratt alleged that he had read what *he stated* concerning the name Cephas in the vocabu-

laries:<sup>1</sup> and we may observe, that generally throughout the disputation, when the original scriptures were to be referred to, the Roman-catholic advocates had to rely upon, and even to solicit the assistance of their opponents! Bucer then followed: after which Gratt again attempted to maintain Peter's supremacy.

Houter, of Appenzel, argued from the power of excommunication given to the church, "and therefore," said he, "to the pope." Haller replied, that the power of excluding scandalous sinners from their communion belonged to each particular church or parish, and was, moreover, not a power to be exercised absolutely by the church at her own pleasure, as if she might decree what she would and it must be binding: the power must be used according to the rules of God's word. Zwingle followed on the same side, and shewed the proper limits of the power of excommunication; and that it was not committed to any one, two, or three men, but to each church, with its pastor at its head. Excommunication without sufficient cause, he said, was an act of tyranny, and invalid.

Traigeur, or Treyer, of Friburg, provincial of the Augustinians, maintained, that in order to be saved it was "necessary to believe all that the church believes," but, "not necessary to *understand* all the articles of faith, or to believe them *explicitly*: it was enough to believe with the universal church, to which the Saviour has promised his Spirit." In short it would seem, both from this explanation and from the practice of the Romish church, that we must declare our assent to whatever the church teaches, but that, provided we constantly do so, we may in reality believe almost as we please. Such is the amount of papal unity!

Bucer, in reply to what Traigeur had urged on the discrepancies of the reformed, said, that a dif-

<sup>1</sup> They seem to have confounded *Κηφᾶς* with *κεφαλῆς*.

ference of sentiment, even among men having the Spirit of God, ought not to excite surprise; since in this world we "know but in part;" and God does not enlighten men's minds all at once, but by degrees: it was sufficient that they agreed in fundamentals. Neither Luther, Zwingli, nor Oecolampadius (he affirmed,) ever sought to found a sect, and gain disciples to themselves, who should bear their names; but to preach the grace of God through Jesus Christ; exhorting men to govern their faith and their lives by the holy scriptures and the apostles' creed: in place of which the Roman-catholics made the pope the associate of Jesus Christ, and joined with him other mediators and other satisfactions for sin.

The discussion of the first article occupied five days and a half. Capito on the side of the reformed, and several others on that of the Romanists, taking part in the debate, besides those who have been mentioned.

Colbius, of Berne, brought forward the second article, which denied the authority of any laws or traditions of the church further than they were agreeable to the written word of God. Boukstab, of Zoffingen, was the leading opponent, and Bucer chiefly answered him. In reply to the standing argument for traditions, that Christ and the apostles delivered many more instructions than were written, Bucer said, All were written which were necessary for our "believing in Christ, and having life through his name:" the rest were either coincident with these, or were not of permanent necessity.

Haller introduced the third article, asserting that the sacrifice of Christ on the cross was the only and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. He denied the merit of works, but not their necessity; and maintained that the rewards promised are *the free gifts of God's grace.*

*The fourth article, which denied the doctrine of the*

corporal presence, was entered upon the same day, being introduced by Colbius: and here the close of the discussion was rendered interesting by the following occurrences. Burgawer, of S. Gallen, after arguing for four days in support of Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, publicly declared himself satisfied by the answers of Zwingle, Ocolampadius, and Bucer; acknowledged the light he had received, and prayed God to open all their minds to discern and receive his truth. He was followed by his fellow minister and deputy of S. Gallen, Dominic Zilli, who said, that Burgawer and he had been deputed by the council of their town; that before they set out his friend and brother had declared to the council, that he would go with his mind open either to receive or to communicate instruction; and that he hoped he should himself receive it. Accordingly he had found it there; "for which," said Zilli, "I bless God, and pray that he would grant my good brother all needful illumination for whatever is yet to follow, and a heart to persevere to the end." For his own part, he assured the present venerable assembly, that at S. Gallen they had for a long time done all that in them lay to preach the word of God with entire unanimity. Matthias, minister of Scengen, avowed a like conviction to that of Burgawer. It is pleasing to record such proofs, that there were those who had not come to the discussion with their minds made up at all events to maintain their previous opinions, and only to be confirmed in them, or to find the means and opportunity of overthrowing those of others, but prepared themselves to embrace the truth wherever they should discover it. Such instances of piety, candour, and ingenuousness must ever be contemplated with delight.

Conrad Somius, of Ulm, a frequent correspondent of Zwingle's, stated, that he regarded the ten theses proposed for discussion, particularly the fourth, (*on the real presence*,) as true and holy; that he had

preached the doctrine contained in them in his church; and that, having been harshly treated by Eckius for so doing, he had challenged that doctor to meet him and discuss with him their differences before the present assembly; a challenge which had not been accepted. Other persons made similar declarations concerning their respective opponents.

At the close of the proceedings, all the canons of Berne, the prior and sub-prior of the Dominicans, and six friars of that order, with fifty-two of the beneficed clergy of the city and of the German part of the canton of Berne, subscribed the ten articles which had been made the subject of discussion.

We will now present the reader with some parts of Bucer's account of the disputation, and likewise with that given by Jacques de Munster. "Traigeur," says the former, "bent all his efforts to shew, that it belonged not to the people of Berne to determine any thing concerning religion, but to wait for the decisions of a council. But his proof was drawn, not from the scriptures, but from the fact that the gospels had been received upon the judgment of the church :<sup>1</sup> whence he wished to infer, that the church was to be regarded as the only judge of faith and of every doctrine : and by the church he meant a council. All others, he said, might err, and therefore the decision should not be left to them. He also urged that the followers of Huss were divided into sects, and that we ourselves did not on all points agree with Luther. It was easy to reject his pretended arguments, since all pious persons know

<sup>1</sup> He refers to the perpetually cited sentence of Augustine, importing that "that father would not have believed the gospels but for the authority of the church;" which sentence Zwingle explains, as Chillingworth and Stillingfleet have since done, to mean, that the ancient church had discriminated spurious or apocryphal works from the genuine writings of inspired men. To decide this question of mere *fact* was a widely different thing from pronouncing peremptorily what *doctrines* were to be believed, and what not.

that the just must live by his *own* faith, and not by that of popes and councils; and therefore that not only each particular church, but every individual, ought to know what God commands and promises; and especially that every thing is to be looked for from Christ alone, and that all our religion must work by love to our neighbour. Now, as all the dogmas and institutions of the Romanists are diametrically opposed to these two principles, and that so clearly that even a child, by comparing them with the scriptures, may perceive it; what need can there be to wait for the decrees of councils upon the subject—assemblies which are seldom convened, and which, when they have met, have been for ages past of such a character, that it would be more reasonable to expect water from a flint, than doctrines according to godliness to proceed from them?—The scriptures are accessible on all sides; and there are not wanting persons profitably to propound them to the people: their being apprehended by (a true and lively) faith depends not on councils, nor on any created being: for the Father alone, through Christ, gives the Holy Spirit, who ‘leads into all the truth;’ and he gives the Spirit to those whom he has ‘chosen before the foundation of the world,’ and not merely to those who listen to councils.—And then, as to the fact that all are not agreed in their interpretation of scripture, the reason is, that all are not equally endowed with the Spirit; that many hypocrites are intermingled with the children of God; and that to Christ alone hath the Father given the honour of being the infallible master of his saints: others, however good and holy, must be suffered, on one point or another, to shew that they are but men; in order that the elect may learn in all things to depend only on Christ. Wherever also the children of God are, wherever the kingdom of Christ is found, *there Satan will labour to produce disturbance and confusion; for, as to others whom he has*

in his power, why should he shew any anxiety about them? It is moreover the will of our heavenly Father to prove his people by sects or divisions. And the agreement of the papists, who are numerous, while amongst us, who are comparatively few, differences exist, no more proves that they are right and we wrong, than the Mahometans (who far outnumber the papists,) are proved to be right and the apostles wrong, by the former agreeing for ages in the belief of the Koran, and the latter having been unable to remove from the church all discordancy of opinion respecting the Mosiac ceremonies. . . . The fact is, *the far greater part of mankind are not in earnest in religion*: they only want something which may save appearances; and, whatever may present itself that will answer that purpose, they readily acquiesce in it. . . . Traigeur pretended that *the rule* of explaining scripture only by itself was a principle full of deadly poison. As if the same rule were not observed with respect to all writings whatever! Or as if he himself would endure it, if any person should take upon him to interpret one of the pope's bulls by his own arbitrary pleasure, and not in a manner that he could support from the words of the bull itself! What impertinence then is it to require, that in the divine scriptures an interpretation should be admitted, different from what the inspired words themselves suggest—when, at the same time, 'no man knoweth the things of God but the Spirit of God.'

The letter of the priest of Soleure is, of course, in a very different style and spirit: but it amply confirms the facts, of the general ignorance and profligacy of the popish clergy at that time; of the impossibility of supporting the doctrines and practices of their church by the scriptures; and of the miserable defence which they were able to offer on the present occasion. Nay the writer cannot suppress a

feeling of bitter scorn and indignation at the conduct of his own party, beyond what any of their opponents have expressed; while he bears a strong, though unwilling testimony to the learning and talents of the leaders on the other side.

"We complain," he says, "of the address of the heretics, and of the connivance of princes, and many accuse fate; but what I have been accustomed to say has received the fullest confirmation in this general assembly of the heretics: Our affairs go to ruin solely by our own misconduct, and because the heads of the church neglect to train up any men of learning. Not one of the bishops either appeared or sent any competent persons. . . . After some days there came an Augustinian friar, of the name of Traigeur: he could talk indeed, but he possessed neither learning nor eloquence. And, when he was required to argue from scripture, he chose rather to withdraw than dispute. Whatever others may say of him, I saw nothing in the man but an impudent monk. Another, a Dominican, more noisy indeed, but not a whit more learned, for some days together prated about the scriptures; but with what success you may judge from this specimen: wishing to prove the pope to be the head of the church, he said, his holiness had received this supremacy from S. Peter, to whom our Lord with that intent gave the name of *Cephas, or the head!* So, he said, he had read in the vocabularies! You see what sort of champions we have: and yet we wonder that we fall into contempt, and that many on all sides desert us! Three or four mass-priests also disputed, and a schoolmaster, (*Boukstab*,) a worthy man, as it would seem, and one who shewed more zeal to defend the church and the fathers than all the rest who were there; but he wanted the ability. . . . But now hear what was the constancy of the dignitaries and chapter of Berne: with one or two exceptions, there were none among them who were not convinced that the articles of the



heretics were blasphemous, yet, to a man, they all subscribed them! and that, assembled in chapter together! And all this only because the ignorant beasts<sup>1</sup> on our side could maintain no argument against the heretics!..... And then the monks and priests of Berne followed the infatuated example of their superiors.

“ But you may wish for some account of the heretics :—though why should I accumulate matter painful to you and to myself?..... I did not find them however so well furnished, but that had able men, versed in the scriptures, been pitched against them, if they could not have beaten them at all points, yet the victory might have been left doubtful. Oh, if only a single Erasmus had been engaged with them!..... Some of them, as *Zwingle*, (who was in a perpetual heat,) could be excited only by anger. That brute<sup>2</sup> however is more learned than I gave him credit for being. *Ecolampadius* seems to excel in acquaintance with the prophets and the Hebrew tongue: and, though inferior to his associate in fertility and perspicuity, in Greek learning he seems equal to him, if not his superior. What are the powers of the apostate *Capito* I cannot judge, for he spoke but little. *Bucer* took a larger part. If he were equal to *Zwingle* and *Ecolampadius* in learning and knowledge of the languages, he would be formidable..... But I need not proceed: you will perceive that our cause was ill provided in the presence of these practised heretics. Here and there a priest barked: but they were men who knew better how to chant the vigils than to dispute.

“ But what,” proceeds our author, “ were the consequences of the disputation? As soon as it was over, the council decreed that all altars, images, masses, and whatever pertained to divine worship and the ceremonies of the church, should be banished

<sup>1</sup> Indoctæ bestie.

<sup>2</sup> Bellua.

from the town of Berne, and from all the districts and places subject to it where there was not found a majority of the people in favour of them; and that they should never be introduced again. Alas, for the times, and the manners of the age! Alas, for our sluggish inactivity! How easily might all this mischief have been prevented, had not our bishops been more fond of strumpets than of men of learning! But you will say, Is there no hope of defeating the projects of these nefarious heretics? Certainly there is very little. You know the independent spirit of this nation. The sole cause of their perversion is, that no competent person dares to appear against the heretics. The people of Lucerne, under some rustic leaders, have exerted themselves to check the progress of the evil more than all the bishops have done. But, while we have such miserable defenders, the ignorant people think we have not truth on our side: and the more numerous overpower the better part. The influence of the people of Zurich among them is unbounded; and you know that they are full of artifice, and of unparalleled obstinacy. But what are others doing? You are aware that the council of Basle can accomplish nothing, for fear of their own citizens—whom Ecolampadius bewitches, less by his learning than by his hypocrisy. The same will soon be the situation of other places. I fear the Swiss nation will shake off the yoke of the sovereign pontiff, as they aforetime did that of the emperor. And I wish that Constance and some other imperial cities may not follow their example. . . . . If we would not be utterly undone, we must revert to those means by which the church at first increased—learning, and such manners as may at least exhibit the *appearance* of being laudable.”

This letter of an adversary has informed the reader of what took place at Berne after the close of the *disputation*. The council proceeded immediately to *take the advice of the many eminent persons now*

assembled in their city, and particularly of Vadian and the other presidents, as to the line of conduct they should pursue, and in consequence resolved that the mass should henceforth be discontinued in the town: and that, with respect to the country, each pastor should adhere to what he had subscribed, and act according to it, till further measures should be resolved on. The altars therefore were removed from the churches, and the images destroyed. The council also, having ascertained the concurrence of the people with them, deprived the four bishops, as they had threatened to do, of all spiritual jurisdiction within their territories; and ordered the removal of such rural deans as opposed the reformation, and the appointment of others in their place, to take the inspection of the parochial clergy. They further intimated their intention of abolishing the foreign subsidies and pensions, and "every thing that appeared contrary to the word of God, to peace and union, and to the public good." Many of the citizens who retained their former sentiments viewed these proceedings with chagrin, but the whole passed off peaceably, and without opposition.

The provost and monks of Interlaken, a monastery between the lakes of Thun and Brienz, and also the provost and canons of Zoffingen, resigned their establishments into the hands of the magistrates: and the funds of these and other religious houses were appropriated in the same laudable manner as those of other places had been. From these sources an extensive college was founded at Berne, in which Hoffmeister, Megander, and John Rellicanus were immediately appointed professors, the two former of divinity, the latter of the Greek and Hebrew languages.

Thus was established the reformation of Berne, under which the canton has flourished to this day. *The event was celebrated with public rejoicings: the magistrates opening the prisons, restoring the exiles,*

changing the die of their money in honour of the revolution, and causing the date to be inscribed on a column in letters of gold. For such a celebration they assigned their reasons in the following terms: "If a king or emperor in alliance with us should enter our city, we should remit the punishment of those who had offended against the laws, provided only we had reason to hope that they would not offend again. Now then, when the King of kings, the prince of our souls, the Son of God, who is also our brother, visits us, and brings with him pardon to us who have deserved eternal banishment from his presence, shall we not honour the event by pardoning those who have done us wrong?" And the like sentiment of Christian piety and charity, we are told, was reiterated from friend to friend, in their mutual salutations of one another.

The disputation and the reformation of Berne, with the decided part which that powerful canton now took, could not fail to produce a very sensible effect on all those places where the reformed principles had already found an entrance. Accordingly we find that in most of those which have been mentioned—Basle, Bienne, S. Gallen, Glaris, Mulhausen, Constance, Bremgarten, the Tockenbourg, Thurgau, the Rheinthal, the Grisons, considerable advances were now made. It is only to be regretted that the proceedings, particularly with respect to the destruction of images, were in several instances less orderly than might have been wished.

On the other hand, among the Grisons a plot was formed for purposes far different from that of offering indiscreet violence to a few lifeless images—even to massacre all the professors of the reformed faith. The bishop of Coire, Paul Ziegler, had for some time withdrawn from his episcopal residence, on account of the prevalence of those principles which were obnoxious to him; and the marquis of Muse, a military adventurer who obtained considerable celebrity at

that time, aimed to put his own brother Angel (afterwards pope Pius IV,) in possession of the see, proposing to provide for Ziegler elsewhere. At the same time the marquis was about to marry his sister to the prince of Hohen-ems. Under pretence of celebrating this marriage with due honours, a number of soldiers were to be assembled at Coire, and then employed in massacring the friends of the reformation. Happily the plot was discovered; and Theodor Schlegel, abbot of S. Lucius, an ecclesiastic next in rank to the bishop, being convicted as one of the conspirators, suffered death for his offence, in the month of January, 1529.

At Zurich the council proceeded the length of excluding from the magistracy, and from all public offices, such persons as refused to conform to the reformation. A general synod also of the clergy of the canton was appointed, to assemble twice every year, with one of the burgomasters and eight members of the council, to superintend the doctrine and manners of the clergy, and the conduct of all ecclesiastical affairs. Circumstances, perhaps, rather than any fixed principles, thus introduced a presbyterian form of church government into Switzerland, before the time of Calvin: though, it must be confessed, Zwingle, wherever he mentions the subject, seems to assume that bishops and presbyters are but one order and so far holds a parity of rank among the clergy. In Berne a similar system was established, but without a general assembly, or synod of the whole church.

Warm contests at this time arose between Zurich and Berne, on the one side, and the Roman-catholic cantons, on the other, concerning the country over which they had a joint sovereignty. The former insisted that the inhabitants of these districts should have the liberty, where they chose to make use of it, of possessing the scriptures, and hearing the reformed doctrine preached; while the latter resolutely refused

all such indulgence: and so violent was the disagreement upon this subject, that it appeared likely to break out in open hostilities; when the timely interposition of Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, for the present appeased the quarrel.

On another occasion, on which we cannot perhaps altogether acquit the government of Berne of the charge of too eagerly enforcing the reformed religion, matters came to an actual armament, and to the very eve of a battle, between them and one, at least, of the other cantons. But here again circumstances occurred which happily prevented a civil war.

The Bernese had some further difficulties also with their neighbours on the subject of the suppression of religious houses, and the conversion of their funds to the purposes, to which they appear to have faithfully applied them, of public instruction and the relief of the poor: but they surmounted all the opposition which was offered to their plans.

The Roman-catholic cantons having entered into an alliance with one another to retain and support the religion which they professed, the reformed, finding themselves exposed to continual dangers or vexations from the animosity which those powers cherished against them, resolved about this time to form a similar league among themselves. Zurich and Berne were already severally thus engaged to Constance: they now united with one another in an association, into which they received Constance and S. Gallen near the end of the year, and Bienne, Mulhausen, Basle, and other reformed states in the beginning of the year following. The several parties engaged to defend each other in things temporal as well as spiritual; to protect such of their subjects of the common bailliages as might wish for the reformation, and adopt it by a majority of votes—which we shall find to have been a common mode of proceeding in Switzerland: but at the same time to allow full liberty of conscience

to all those who chose to persevere in the communion of Rome.

The year 1529 was distinguished by some remarkable occurrences in the history of the reformation; particularly the full reformation of Basle; that of Schaffhausen; and the celebrated conference of Marpurg.

The reformation of Basle was an important, and in its issue a very happy event: but the means by which it was consummated are not such as we can contemplate with pleasure or approbation. Here, more decidedly, it would seem, than in other places, the sentiments of the people had outrun those of the governing powers in favour of a change of religion. The council flattered themselves that in a decree which they had lately issued, requiring preachers to teach according to the scriptures, and both parties to abstain from attacking each other, they had laid the foundation of public quiet. But, like all indecisive measures, and attempts at compromise between those who feel themselves still able to contend, each with the hope of full success, it entirely failed in its object. Both the Roman-catholics and the reformed continued to assail one another from the pulpit, and in various harangues, public and private, even with increased violence: till at length, not finding the council disposed to give either of them full satisfaction, they began to assemble in large numbers for the purpose of urging their respective demands. The reformed would have the mass to be immediately abolished, and the preaching of the Roman-catholics interdicted; arguing that Christian magistrates ought not to tolerate false prophets and idolatrous abominations. The Romanists, on the other hand, were violent and menacing, requiring that no deviation from the received doctrines and ceremonies of the church should be permitted: and both parties avowed their determination to continue to assemble till their object should be attained. It seems obvious that

there was among these tumultuous reformers no small infusion of a fanatical spirit; as well as great ignorance of the rules which the gospel prescribes to us for the government of our conduct in all such cases. They would have made their own convictions the rule for other men's consciences; and they imagined that all which appeared to them to be right in itself must be carried into immediate effect by force and constraint, without ever waiting to enlighten men's minds, and thus to prepare them to yield the acquiescence of the heart in the proposed improvements: and those magistrates who did not fully concur with these plans they at once denounced as lukewarm or unchristian. But all this was wild and extravagant; contrary to Christian rules, and incompatible with the nature of true religion—which must be “a reasonable service,” the result therefore of conviction, or it will be of no worth before God.—The reformed, it seems, apprehended danger to their civil liberties, as well as to their religion, from the influence of a few devoted Romanists in the council: and therefore they were the *first* to assemble: but the Roman-catholics first met *in arms*.<sup>1</sup>—The pleasure of contemplating even real and important reforms must be very much alloyed, to the pious and well-ordered mind, when they are introduced by such means.—Amidst all this violence and confusion we scarcely hear a word of Œcolampadius and the other holy and devoted preachers of the gospel. The only satisfactory points which present themselves are, that no actual tumult took place, and no injury was done to any man's life or goods; (a fact which Erasmus expressly ascribes to the mild and prudent interference of Œcolampadius;) and that the final result was the establishment of the reformed religion. The government at length felt themselves compelled to give way to the majority of the citizens. They in

<sup>1</sup> This is agreeable to the testimony of Erasmus, (a resident at Basle,) as well as to that of the reformed writers.



the first place, therefore, excluded from the power of voting on the question all those members of the council who were nearly connected by blood or marriage with the Roman-catholic priesthood: after which, resolutions for the suppression of the mass, of the use of images, and of the other observances of popery, and for establishing the reformed faith and worship, were easily carried.

The images were accordingly all committed to the flames, or otherwise destroyed, on the 10th of February, 1529, being Ash Wednesday: and the following Sunday the reformed worship, with the singing of the Psalms in German, was introduced in all the churches of Basle: and in the course of the week a general amnesty was proclaimed, and permission given to all persons who had left the city to return, with the exception of such only as were charged with atrocious crimes. The greater part however of those who were of the class of nobles, having refused to return, on account of the change of religion, which was highly obnoxious to them, were permanently excluded from the council. The bishop had lost a large proportion of his power and influence ever since Basle had joined the Helvetic confederation in the year 1501, and had in consequence withdrawn his residence from the city: and henceforth he entirely took up his abode at Porentru, of which, by the reformed at least, he is styled prince, instead of being entitled bishop of Basle. The canons of Basle now retired in a body to Friburg in Brisgau, a town subject to the archduke of Austria, and lived there "with their concubines," till the governor, in the year 1543, compelled them to renounce the "ancient usage," as they themselves styled it in contending against his order, of retaining such consorts.

Ecolampadius, giving an account of these transactions to his friend Simon Grynæus, on the last day of the month of March, speaks as follows: "Let

others interpret these things as they will, I am assured that they have not happened but under the direction of our heavenly Father; who so governs all things by his secret and wonderful counsel, as to shew that *our* cares are vain, and *our* thoughts foolish. He makes impossibilities possible, and by the rashness of men opens the way for the accomplishment of his own glorious purposes. For a long time past our preachers have wrangled, to the scandal of many; now with one mouth Christ is preached. Our churches were divided among themselves; now they are united. Idols every where stood out to view; now they are reduced to ashes, or have sunk into the depths of the earth—shunning the presence of the Lord at his coming. Our academy was neglected; now we mean not only to revive, but to render it distinguished; it being our wish that religion and sound learning should go together."

Among the eminent persons who now withdrew from Basle were Erasmus, who had resided there for several years, and his friend Glareanus. By the removal of the latter, Oecolampadius thought the city suffered no loss. "He is a man," says the reformer, "given to sarcasm, malevolence, and impertinent jesting:" and of him and some others, who quitted Basle before Erasmus did, he says, "Because they see with displeasure that Christ reigns here, they choose to live elsewhere." Erasmus's own account of his departure from Basle demonstrates that he was moved to it by no apprehension of violence or injury, but rather by the apprehension of being identified with the reformers, and being thought to countenance the new order of things; and of thus forfeiting the patronage of the pope and the emperor, and the favour of other eminent persons. Oecolampadius writes to his friend Vadian on the occasion: "You will perhaps hear *with regret that Erasmus has left us, with some*

others who were thought by the lustre of their names to do honour to our city. But, as, without being expelled by tyranny, or driven away by violence, or irritated by rudeness, or hurt by disrespect, they thought it good to live elsewhere, what could be done? We must make the best of what we could not prevent: nay we should with thankfulness avail ourselves of any little good that may be connected with it. We had better be free from factions, though we lose for a time the company of some learned and eloquent men, than, with an ample supply of such persons, labour under intestine discords, and be distracted with diversities of religion. We bid them therefore farewell.—In the mean time we shall use our best endeavours to make up the loss we have sustained, and to improve our college as much as possible, by calling in the aid of men, who, if not equally renowned, may be not less studious of the public good." To Farel he says, "Desiderius (Erasmus) went away suddenly, two days after I received your letter. I was not aware of his intention, or I should with more anxiety have commended the gospel to him. I fear he is not gone to propagate the gospel. May the Spirit of God, ere he is aware, take possession of his heart!"

Among the means taken to supply the loss of Erasmus and Glareanus, and to promote the improvement of the university of Basle, was the introduction of Simon Grynæus and Sebastian Munster, both from Heidelberg, the former to fill the office of professor of Greek, the latter of that of Hebrew. Grynæus retained his post till his death in the year 1541; and Munster, who has been styled the German Ezra, for his skill in Hebrew learning, and Strabo, for his knowledge of history, continued in his office till 1552. Paulus Constantius Phrygio, a zealous reformer, was at the same time appointed to the church of S. Peter at Basle: which he resigned in *the year 1535*, at the solicitation of the restored duke

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of Württemberg, to assist him in the reformation of Tübingen.

The three powerful states of Zurich, Berne, and Basle being now fully committed in favour of the reformation, this fact gave great encouragement to each of their neighbours as leaned toward the same side, but had hitherto hesitated. Only a few particulars however need be here recited.

'Schaffhausen at this time consummated its reformation. Our more recent notices of this place have represented it as retrograding, rather than advancing in the sacred cause.' There were not wanting, however, persons to contend for the truth. The two parties struggled together for the mastery during the greater part of the year 1529: but at length a decided preponderance was given to the reformed by the timely interposition of Zurich, Berne, Basle, S. Gallen, and Mulhausen. Those places sent a joint deputation to Schaffhausen to exhort the government to a more decided conduct. They represented to the council, that, as it had shewn itself convinced of the truth and will of God, by in part abolishing the mass, images, and monasteries, it became it not "to halt between two opinions," as it had lately done; but to act more firmly and consistently, and thus to consult at once for the glory of God and the peace of the town. At the same time these states promised their support and protection against all external enemies. The council in consequence assembled the citizens at large, and submitted the question to them. By a plurality of votes they made their election in favour of the reformation, which was thenceforward formally established among them.

In Glaris the violent differences which had agitated the canton on the subject of religion were now to a considerable degree settled by an arrangement, which, though it did not amount to a general esta-

ishment of the reformation, yet confirmed it where it had already been introduced; required the clergy at large to preach nothing but what was drawn from the scriptures; and gave the reformed ministers access to all parts of the canton.

At S. Gallen the magistrates took upon them to reform the abbey church; and on the seventh of March the inhabitants for the first time assembled in it, to the number of three thousand, to hear the gospel preached by their pastor, Dominic Zilli. The examination and exposure of many false relics, which had been held in great veneration, produced a powerful effect. So much was the mind of a Roman-catholic deputy from Glaris struck with the impostures which had been practised, that he renounced his former faith, and joined the reformed.

Bienna still followed in the steps of Berne. Here, as had been the case at Basle, a considerable portion of the council was opposed to the reformation, while the citizens favoured it: and the latter prevailed. Stéhelin, the pastor, was brought before the council to answer for his doctrine. Some members would have sentenced him to death; others, to banishment; but the majority decided that, if he could prove his doctrine from scripture, he should continue unmolested in his employ. Farel visited Bienna this year, and aided the cause of the reformation there.

The proceedings at the town of Bremgarten were interesting. Bullinger, the father of the great reformer of that name, had been stationed there ever since the year 1506, and held the office of a rural dean. We have seen his determined resistance to Samson, the vendor of indulgences, and have noticed some others of his proceedings favourable to reformation. The occasional services of his son also at Bremgarten had been useful. But it was not till this period that the eyes of the father were fully opened to the errors of Romanism, and the truth of the evangelical doctrine: and the avowal which he in conse-

quence made from the pulpit was decided, and very affecting. He told his people that he had preached to them for twenty-three years, and that he had always taught them what he esteemed to be the truth; but he was now sensible that he himself had been blind, as so many others were, and could only therefore have been leading them on in darkness: that he implored pardon of God; and, by the help of his grace, would for the future shew them the right way of salvation, as taught only in the holy scriptures, and would endeavour to lead them by the hand to Jesus Christ alone." The chief magistrate of the place, hearing him speak in this way, left the church in great wrath, and took measures for displacing him—in which it would seem that he succeeded. Considerable discords followed. The Roman-catholic cantons sent deputies to require the inhabitants to persevere in their former superstition: but they had recourse to Zurich, and, being supported by that canton and Berne, they resolved by a plurality of voices "to abolish the mass, images, and all the trumpery of popery, and to demand a reformed pastor." The images were accordingly broken or burned; Gervas Schuler, from the neighbourhood of Strasburg, and the younger Bullinger, hitherto master of the school at Cappel, were appointed joint-pastors; and regulations were adopted for the improvement of the morals of the people.

Of an occurrence at Wesen, on the lake of Waldenstadt, we have a somewhat amusing account. Balthasar Trachsel, appears to have introduced the reformed doctrine there; and the inhabitants, unawed by the neighbourhood of the rich abbey of Schennis, whose abbess ranked as a princess, this year abolished the mass. The canton of Schweitz, which had jurisdiction there, interposed: but the people of Wesen replied, that in all other things they were ready to obey their *earthly superiors*, but that in the concerns *of religion they must hold themselves responsible to*

God alone. Hence, in the presence of the deputy of Schweitz, some boys were allowed to carry out the images from the church to a place where several ways met, and there, placing them on the ground, to address them thus: "This way leads to Schweitz, that to Glaris; this to Zurio, and that to Coire: choose which you will take, and depart in peace: but if you do not move along one or other of them we will burn you." As the idols shewed no disposition to move, they were set on fire and consumed.

Soleure continues to this day an exclusively popish canton: yet it contained at the period of which we are writing many zealous advocates for the reformation, and even made very promising advances towards a public reception of it. The disputation of Berne had greatly strengthened the hands of the friends of the reformation here: and accordingly we find *Æcolampadius* very shortly after writing to *Capito* to look out for some "learned, eloquent, unmarried clergyman, prepared to promote the glory of God, who might be sent to Soleure, that antichrist might be dislodged from that place." There were there, he says, persons of the first consideration, who desired "an apostle," and would take care that he should preach in safety. The opening was one not to be neglected. "The harvest was great, but the labourers were few." "I feel now," says the pious and devoted writer, "what a weighty service it is to find pastors for the churches:" and he adds a reflection deserving the deepest consideration in our own times—"How much more would a few good and fervent men effect in the ministry, than a multitude of lukewarm ones!" Opposition however was strong and violent at Soleure. The people and the men of learning were in favour of the reformation, but the higher classes and the canons of the collegiate church were zealous on the other side. While the reformed were few in number, persecution had been vigorously carried on against them, and they had been subjected

to fines, imprisonment, and banishment: but they were become more numerous, had greater influence, and were permitted to have a minister to preach to them. But of this minister it was now demanded that he should celebrate mass. He refused, and was supported by his hearers. Zurich and Berne sent deputations to intercede in his behalf. In the month of September the grand council assembled upon the subject: the deputies of the two cantons just mentioned were present: and a hundred select persons from among the reformed, being admitted, demanded liberty of conscience. Their spokesman complained of the persecutions they had suffered, while in the Roman-catholic clergy the most flagitious conduct was connived at. He represented, that, hard as had been the treatment they had experienced, the conduct of the reformed had always been submissive and dutiful to the government, and they were resolved that it should still be so; but that it was not possible for their minister to say mass, since they considered that rite as an impious profanation. He expressed his earnest wish that the council would follow the example of their allies of Berne, and put the priests to the proof of supporting their doctrines by scripture: those on behalf of whom he spoke were willing to stake every thing upon the event." The deputies of Zurich and Berne supported the reformed. Their representations had the effect of inducing the council to resolve, that the demand made on the reformed minister with respect to the mass should be abandoned, and to publish throughout their territories an edict permitting all the pastors of churches to preach the pure word of God without restraint, any former decrees to the contrary notwithstanding. The edict however could not restrain the violence of the opposite party. They ceased not to maltreat the reformed, and that to such a degree as threatened to be productive of tumults, but for the prompt and repeated interposition of the Bernese. Once they



had even come to the resolution of making a general attack on the objects of their indignation: and for this purpose had gone the length of shutting the gates and pointing the cannon of the town: but Berne sent in its deputies; the council assembled; and the reformed demanded justice against those who had so grossly violated the tenor of the late edict. Through the mediation however of the deputies of Berne, and to set their enemies an example of Christian forbearance, the reformed withdrew their demand, and offered reconciliation, provided nothing further were done to the prejudice of the gospel: and so sensible were the magistrates of the service the Bernese on this occasion had rendered their state, that they sent a special deputation to return them their thanks.—Philip Grotz, of Zug, and another pious minister of the name of Other, both of whom had formerly preached at Soleure, but had been banished, were permitted to resume their labours there, and a third was added to them. A few days after a new edict was issued, strongly in favour of religious liberty. The council even called upon the people to meet, and express their sentiments, whether they wished to retain the mass or to have it abolished. The people referred the question back to their rulers; who again desired them to vote upon it: when thirty-four parishes gave their votes against the mass, and only ten in favour of it. No further proceedings however appear for the present to have been taken.

We now turn to other matters of considerable, though painful, interest. The five cantons which were distinguished by their zeal for the Roman-catholic faith, alarmed at the rapid progress which the reformation was making, entered into an alliance with king Ferdinand, brother of the emperor Charles V, for the maintenance of Romanism; and their treaty stipulated, that whatever conquest should be made on the Swiss side of the Rhine should belong to the five cantons. This treaty excited great distrust

and alarm. Such an alliance of particular cantons with a foreign power was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Helvetic confederation; in the present instance it was made with that power which had been the ancient oppressor, and was considered as the natural enemy, of the Swiss nation; and, as Zurich and Berne afterwards urged, the stipulation just recited could point at nothing but the subjugation or expulsion of the reformed. Other causes of dissatisfaction also existed, which were perhaps too warmly taken up by some of the reformed cantons.

Six of the cantons joined Zurich in a deputation to the five Roman-catholic cantons, requiring them to renounce their alliance with Ferdinand, as being contrary to their engagements to the general body of the Swiss nation. The deputation however was disrespectfully treated; and Underwalden, in particular, whose conduct in other particulars had been injurious, added insult of the grossest kind, especially towards Zurich.

Thus all things seemed again to tend to an open and immediate rupture. The more moderate cantons, however, still laboured to effect an accommodation: but Zurich would hear of none, of which it should not be made an essential condition, that the preaching and profession of the reformed faith should be freely allowed within the popish cantons. Zurich was now evidently taking too high a tone; unduly confident, it is probable, in the great accession of strength which the reformed party had lately acquired. It interfered in a manner in which no one state can be warranted in any ordinary circumstances to intermeddle in the internal regulations of another.

While this irritation prevailed, the canton of Schweitz however was guilty of one most atrocious act, against which all the feelings of humanity must be roused, and which the people of Zurich might justly regard as a designed and outrageous affront to them. James Keyser, or Schlosser, a minister

of the canton of Zurich, had been called to supply the place of one who had been expelled from Oberkirch in the country of Gaster—which was subject to Schweitz and Glaris. He accepted the invitation; but, not being able immediately to remove, he for a time went over to perform the duty on the Sunday. On one of these occasions, he was seized in a wood by four men, who conveyed him to Schweitz, where proceedings were instituted against him, and he was condemned to the flames. The protest of Glaris, the co-sovereign of the Gaster, was disregarded; the remonstrance of Zurich, to whose territory Schlosser yet belonged, was treated with derision; and the barbarous sentence was carried into execution. The pious sufferer when first thrown into prison was much dejected: but before the time of his martyrdom arrived the grace of God had revived his courage, and he met his death with composure, invoking the name of his Saviour with constancy, even amid the flames.—Some further acts of defiance and insult determined Zurich immediately to have recourse to arms, though Berne was still disposed to peaceable counsels. Accordingly the former state declared war against the five cantons, and took the field; and Berne, not as a principal but as an ally of Zurich, furnished ten thousand men, in two successive detachments. Other allies also contributed their quotas. Through the zealous exertions of the neutral cantons and other friends of peace, the effusion of blood was however still prevented; a suspension of arms was obtained, even when the armies were ready for battle; and articles of peace, of a very important kind, had they only been adhered to, were agreed upon.—It was a gratifying sight to behold the officers and soldiers of the two opposite parties, as soon as the suspension of arms was made known, associating together with the greatest cordiality; though lamentable to think that such apparently good friends had been led out for the purpose of mutual destruction.

A treaty was at length concluded between the two parties, and signed at Arau on the 26th of June; by the second article of which the five cantons renounced their alliance with Ferdinand, (who had been himself too much occupied in Hungary to afford them any assistance,) and engaged to deliver up the original treaty with him into the hands of the mediating cantons, to be destroyed, before the armies dispersed.

The terms of the treaty of Arau were greatly to the advantage of the reformed, who were throughout considered as the aggrieved party, and the party also which possessed the power of enforcing reparation of its wrongs. We feel surprised therefore to learn that Zwingle and others on his part were dissatisfied with it. But the fact appears to have been this: long experience had shewn them the spirit of the enemy with whom they had to contend, and had convinced them that there was no safety for them but in depriving him of the power to do hurt: and the present they conceived to be the proper opportunity for effecting this object. And certainly the events which followed shewed that the reformed had done either too little or too much: they had mortified and irritated their enemy without weakening him. He only waited therefore for a favourable occasion of revenging himself upon them: as appeared but too manifestly even before the troops on either side were disbanded. But we dismiss the further consideration of this subject for the present.

We mentioned the conference of Marpurg as another notable occurrence of this year. It was held in the month of October, under the auspices of the landgrave of Hesse, between Luther, Melancthon, and others, on the one side, and Zwingle and Œcolampadius, assisted by some of their friends, on the other—for the now hopeless object of healing the difference between the two great reformed bodies on the subject of the presence of Christ in the

eucharist. The subject has been noticed in the history of the Lutheran Reformation ;<sup>1</sup> and we shall not here enter into it at any length. Luther, we may observe, was not a man to be dealt with on such a subject as this, especially when he had already so far committed himself, and so determinately made up his mind. Give him a case in which he was clearly right, and was employed in defending the grand truths of God's word, and no man would in finer style, or more satisfactorily, tread down all opposition : but in a case like the present, in which good men might differ, and might labour under strong prejudice, and in which, by whatever means, he had formed a decided opinion, and common fairness could hardly be expected from him. He would pursue the same method in this case as in the former, against men, and under circumstances, essentially different. Accordingly he in the present conference bore down every argument by vociferating the words, " THIS IS MY BODY ;" while Zwingle in vain urged that he did but beg the question, which was no other than this—in what sense those words were to be understood. In the end, however, fifteen articles were drawn up, and signed, on the one part, by Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Osiander, Brentius, and Stephanus Agricola, of Augsburg ;<sup>2</sup> and on the other by Œcolampadius, Zwingle, Bucer, and Hedio. In these articles the parties testified their substantial agreement upon every other point besides that of the corporal presence ; concluding with the declaration that, " though at present they had not agreed on that topic, yet both parties, as far as each man's conscience would permit, ought to cherish mutual charity for one another ; and also earnestly to implore Almighty God, by his Spirit, to confirm them in the truth." One is pained at the coldness and bigotry of Luther's commentary on this conclusion—for on

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 402, 403.

<sup>2</sup> Not Islebina.

this question he is ever unworthy of himself. "We have accorded to them," he says in a letter to a friend, "that, though in fact they were not *our brethren*, yet we would not refuse them our sentiments of Christian charity—which are owing even to an *enemy*!"

Though the conference failed of attaining the end proposed, yet the following benefits may be considered as having resulted from it. 1. It shewed the world that the differences between the two parties were neither so many nor so great, as had been represented and generally apprehended. 2. It served to dissipate many of the prejudices and suspicions which some of the leading partisans had conceived against each other; especially those which Luther and his adherents had admitted concerning the general orthodoxy of Zwingle and Œcolampadius. Luther had observed at the opening, that, before at all proceeding to the question of the eucharist, they must first settle those of the divinity of Christ, and his two natures; of baptism; of justification by faith; and others of vital importance; for he understood that the Swiss divines differed from those of Saxony on these articles. Zwingle and Œcolampadius however at once cut short that discussion, by avowing an entire agreement with him on all those points; and Luther afterwards confessed that he had thought much better of these two great men since he met them at Marpurg. Alas! how prone are we, and on the slightest, and often the most shadowy grounds, to admit prejudices and evil surmisings against our brethren; and in our imaginations to swell and multiply the differences between us, where a little candid, Christian, and cordial intercourse would shew us that we are in the main one; and that our differences neither need divide us, nor do perhaps, in point of fact, make any perceptible variation in our mode of *teaching*: that we are aiming at the same objects, and pursue them by, substantially at least, the same

means ; and that our points of discrepance scarcely ever come into view, except when we dispute about them. Perhaps our imagined differences are merely *inferences*, which each supposes must follow from some sentiment held by the other, but which both agree in disowning and condemning.—3. It is stated that the landgrave and his principal divine, Lambert,<sup>1</sup> with almost all the court of Cassel were on this occasion gained over to the doctrine of Zwingle and Ecolampadius concerning the eucharist.

We may close the present chapter with once more slightly noticing the Anabaptists. Ecolampadius and other ministers about this time held a conference with nine of them, who had been imprisoned at Basle. Much extraordinary insolence and fanaticism were displayed on their part, yet some proof was elicited, that, among these deluded people, as among many others who in some measure approximate to them, instances existed in which simple error, rather than perverseness of mind, had led them astray, and in which the portion of religious truth that they received had proved the means of turning them from a careless and ungodly course of life. We must not condemn whole bodies of people in the gross, even where appearances may be most unpromising with respect to the majority. Three of the nine anabaptists here referred to were reclaimed from their errors : the others, who continued obstinate and insolent, were banished. They were admonished, however, that their punishment was inflicted on them not for their religion, or for any thing which they could themselves imagine to be good, but for their seditions, their perjuries, and the other disorders of which they were guilty. Indeed I do not find that at Basle their punishments were ever carried beyond imprisonment or banishment. At Berne, some, who

<sup>1</sup> Lutheran Reformation, i. 356—7 : and above, p. 47.

peatedly returned in contempt of their oaths of abjuration, were put to death. At Constance, he had written a blasphemous book against the y of Christ, and had indulged himself in a train of wives, to the number of thirteen at the time, suffered death, and apparently died penitent. He condemned his own conduct, acknowledged justice of his sentence, and spoke of himself as worthy to walk along the path which led to the place of execution. Yet by the Anabaptists of Holland he was enrolled among their martyrs, and his story recorded with great applause!



## CHAPTER VI.



*Reformation of French Switzerland—Farel—Proceedings in the Cantons—Civil War—Death of Zwingle—and of Œcolampadius—Consequences.*

HITHERTO, with the exception of the Grisons, where the Romansh language prevails, our attention has been confined to *la Suisse Allemande*, or that part of Switzerland in which the German language is spoken. But an important work of reformation was at the same time carrying on in *la Suisse Romande*, the western part, where the French is the vernacular tongue. This country consists, or then consisted of the Pays de Vaud, of which Lausanne is the capital, the counties of Neuchâtel and Vallengin, the lands of the prince of Porentru, or Bishop of Basle, the government of Moutiër, or Munster, the valley of S. Imier, or Erguel, the state of Geneva, and the Lower Vallais. In the Pays de Vaud, the three bailliages of Orbe, Granson, and Morat were subject to the joint government of Berne and Friburg; and the remainder of the district partly to the bishop of Lausanne, and partly to the duke of Savoy.

It forms a striking feature of distinction between French and German Switzerland, that, while the latter furnished so many distinguished men to assist in the reformation of other countries, as well as to effect that of their own, the former was almost entirely indebted to foreigners for its emancipation from

papal darkness and servitude. Peter Viret, of Orbe, is the only exception to this observation; and he does not come into view till a later period of our history. The same circumstance which rendered reformation doubly necessary to this country probably prevented the rise of native reformers; and that was the depth of superstition and ignorance in which it was sunk. The chief instrument of its reformation was William Farel, a Frenchman, who was sent into the country by the government of Berne. Farel, whose name is already known to the readers of the history of the Lutheran reformation,<sup>1</sup> was a man of lively genius, of ardent zeal, and of unreserved devotedness. His temperament exposed him to overstep the strict boundaries of prudence: by which I here mean not carnal policy, but true Christian wisdom, which withholds all just occasion, even from those who "seek occasion" against it: yet his character and proceedings not only well deserve such illustration as we may be able to give of them, but on the whole justly claim our admiration.

Farel was born of a wealthy and noble family at Gap, in Dauphinè, in the year 1489. By the advice of Faber Stapulensis, and other learned men who perceived his promising talents, he diligently applied himself to the study of philosophy and polite literature, and subsequently to that of the Latin and Greek languages, at Paris, and was one of the first persons who professed the reformed religion in France. He himself states, that from the time he first heard of the evangelical doctrine he felt great anxiety about it. A preparation of mind had no doubt been taking place for his receiving it. He passed, according to his own relation, more than three years in earnest prayers to God to guide him into the right way; frequently reading the New Testament on his knees; comparing the Greek text with the Vulgate version;

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. 241: II. 136.

and consulting persons of almost all descriptions, in the hope of eliciting from them some elucidation of divine truth.—He who thus desires “to know” the will of God that he may “do it” shall not be left in ignorance. He who thus, at once, “searches for wisdom as for hid treasure,” and “lifts up his voice for understanding,” shall not fail of “finding the knowledge of God.”—In the year 1521, Farel was called by William Briçonet, bishop of Meaux, who favoured the reformation, to preach in that city: but two years afterwards, the parliament of Paris having begun cruelly to persecute the professors of the reformed faith, Briçonet lost his courage, and Farel was compelled to leave France. He retired to Strasburg, where he formed an intimate friendship with Bucer and Capito, which was not interrupted but by death. Leaving Strasburg, he visited Basle: but, as the hostility of the Roman-catholic clergy did not permit him to continue in that city, he removed, by the recommendation of Ecolampadius and other friends, to the neighbouring principality of Montbelliard; which, though insulated in France, belonged to the duke of Würtemberg. Here he laboured with so much zeal and success, under the protection of the duke Ulric, that within two years the whole principality became reformed: and to this day the inhabitants in general are protestants.

At Montbelliard Farel had the benefit of the counsels of the wise and holy Ecolampadius in all his proceedings: and what was the nature of those counsels may be judged from two letters of Ecolampadius to him, written in the month of August, 1525. “It gives me inexpressible pleasure,” says the writer, “to hear that the cause of Christ advances so much by your means. I pray that he who plants by your hand may also water, and may protect his vineyard both from the mischiefs of the *little foxes* and the devastations of the *wild boar*.<sup>1</sup> It is well for you,

<sup>1</sup> Sol. Song, ii. 15. Psalm lxxx. 13.

who have found so fruitful a field, and that your seed has immediately sprung up: but then shall we be truly happy, when it brings forth fruit to Christ, and if it disappoint not our hopes: at least, if it fail not through our fault; if our ministry be blameless and faithful, such as can never be reproached. Be it your desire to become the parent of many spiritual children who shall be not so much *knowing* as *good*, that is *truly* learned—‘taught of God.’ It is easy to instil notions into the minds of our hearers, but to change the heart is a divine work. Above all things therefore it is necessary to pray for the Holy Spirit, and by improving one talent to gain another.... But in order to do this there will be need of gentleness, patience, charity, and above all of faith. Prudence also will be requisite; not carnal prudence, but that holy wisdom which ‘descendeth from above,’ and which teaches us, after the example of Christ, to adapt ourselves to all our hearers. But why should I admonish *you*, who have the Spirit of God for your monitor, and follow his guidance? I have need rather to bewail myself, who for so long a time together speak into the air, and see little ground of hope among my people. Perhaps I should have taught with more effect in the midst of the Turks. But I wish to impute blame to none but myself. Pray to the Lord that he would not suffer his word to be despised through my inertness or sinfulness.”

In the other letter the writer says: “I have read the account of the tragedy (disturbance) produced among you on the Lord’s day: and I conceive great hope that the seed you sow will prove fruitful. Those here who are the friends of yourself and of the gospel fear lest the ardor of your zeal should lead you to attempt too much at the outset. Against this I sufficiently cautioned you before you left us, and therefore do not now repeat my suggestions; for I am persuaded you do remember what was agreed upon between us, namely, that the more prone you

are to impetuosity the more should you cultivate moderation, and learn to temper the boldness of the lion with the gentleness of the dove. Men may be led, but will not be driven. Let it be our one object to gain souls to Christ: and let us consider in what manner we ourselves should wish to be instructed if we were yet in darkness, and under the bondage of Antichrist. Endeavour to exhibit the very image of Christ in your life: I mean now especially by copying him as a teacher. He was indeed severe towards the Pharisees—a race of men who were deaf to reproof: though even to them he was not so harsh as some make his words in Matthew xxiii. to exhibit him: but he conveyed some things through the medium of lamentation over sinners, some in the way of warning, some in an attractive and even entertaining form; so that scarcely ever was his kindness more apparent than when he was surrounded by malignant and insidious enemies. A word to the wise. I know that you would wish to be a skilful surgeon, not a butcher.—To-day I shall enter on the epistle to the Romans. On Sunday I commenced my lectures in the church on Genesis and the epistle to the Hebrews. I scarcely escaped being prohibited by the senate to expound the latter. Some had given out that I meant to undermine the honour of the saints, and to abolish images. I told the officers of state that I was a preacher of *Christ*, not much addicted to the saints; but that I did not deprive any of those, whom they wished to be regarded, of the honour justly due to them; and that from every part of scripture I could preach the same doctrine, for that every where God alone is proposed as the object of our worship. Pray to God for me that I may not be found unfaithful in the ministry which he has committed to me. Farewell in Christ.”

These letters suggest the remarks, that profound humility is the inseparable attendant, or rather an essential ingredient, of superior excellence: and that

deep discouragement often accompanies great usefulness. Ecolampadius, let it be remembered, notwithstanding all his sense of unprofitableness, and all his lamentations over his want of success, was "the reformer of Basle and, in conjunction with Zwingle, of Switzerland at large;" and the fruit which he brought forth hath "remained" even to this day.

But we return to Farel. What induced him to leave Montbelliard I have not discovered: but he returned in 1526 to Strasburg, and thence removed to Neuchâtel. Here he appeared habited as a priest, that he might gain access to preach the gospel; but he was recognized as he was about to mount the pulpit, and was compelled to leave the town. He in consequence went to Berne, and formed the acquaintance of Haller; who, finding his strong desire to advance the kingdom of Christ in those parts where the French language was spoken, advised him to go to Aigle, the only place of that description then subject exclusively to the government of Berne. He complied with the advice; screened himself from the odium under which he lay on account of his religion, by assuming the name of Ursinus, and for the present was contented to support himself, and quietly introduce his doctrine, by teaching a school. Whether or not we can approve even these slight instances of disguise, we must admire the man of family, of learning, of eloquence, and originally of fortune also, who would expose himself to insult, if not to danger, and submit to the drudgery of a humble and laborious employment, simply in order to bring the knowledge of Christ to those who were prejudiced against it. Labouring in this unostentatious manner, Farel, we are told, had much success; when, in the early part of the year following, the council of Berne, informed of his zeal and usefulness, sent him a patent, constituting him pastor of Aigle. He hereupon resumed his proper name,

and commenced preaching. He encountered however great opposition both from the inhabitants and from persons in power, particularly the syndic of Aigle and the Bernese governor. The latter was on the point of prohibiting his preaching, when the council of Berne again interfered, censured the governor's conduct, and ordered him, so far from obstructing Farel in preaching the gospel, to give him his countenance and support. Still the priests of Aigle and the neighbourhood, who appear to have been too generally men of flagitious lives, opposed him by every means in their power. The syndic also, who was secretly encouraged by the governor, assembled the people of the town and government, and exhorted them not to obey the Bernese in these matters, but to chase away Farel. By this time he had acquired partisans, who were desirous of maintaining his cause: but such was the violence of their opponents that they were in danger of being massacred. Farel was insulted by his enemies in every way in their power. They also tore the edict which Berne had issued; alleged "that it did not belong to the council to publish such orders; that the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the cantons might be expected to make war on Berne and its associates; and, finally, that the doctrine of the reformers could not be that of scripture, seeing it brought not peace but division." They forgot, or understood not, that that which is indeed the bond of union to the good may have the effect of irritating the wicked against them: that our Lord has forewarned us, that in this very way he came not to send union but rather division:<sup>1</sup> that it is no good state of things, when "the strong man armed keepeth his palace, and his goods are in peace:" and that the proper way of judging concerning the tendencies of the doctrine must be, to consider its effects on those who receive, not on those who reject and per-

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 34-37. Luke xii. 49-53.

secute it. If in the former the result is good, the hostility excited in the latter can be an argument only against themselves, and the temper of mind which they manifest.—Farel, in no wise disconcerted by opposition, went on with his work, and laboured indefatigably for the good of such as would listen to him. He extended his services also to Bex, Olon, and other places within the government of Aigle. He wrote earnest and able letters to the domestic chaplain of the bishop of Lausanne, and other ecclesiastics, in the hope of softening their prejudices, and opening their minds to the admission of the truth: but, as far as appears, the only consequences were further insults and injuries to himself. At Neuville a mendicant friar preached against him as a seducer, all whose hearers would certainly be damned; and otherwise slandered his character. Farel, having met him at Aigle, engaged in dispute with him, requiring him to prove his charges or to retract them; and offering to maintain his own doctrines from the scriptures. At first the friar would make no answer; but, being brought before the tribunal of justice, he in the end begged pardon of God, of Farel, and of his country; acknowledging that what he had alleged rested on idle and false reports, and that from all which he had known of Farel, he must confess both his character and his doctrine to be irreproachable. The man was no more seen at Aigle.

We have a few lines addressed by Œcolampadius to Farel at this place also, in December, 1527. “It rejoiced me much to learn that you had found another opening for preaching the word of God. I beseech you then, my dear friend, act boldly but prudently: for the old serpent opposes us with wonderful artifice. We have need therefore of holy skill and apostolic sagacity to resist him. But Christ is greater than he: take *him* for your master, and he will teach you how to proceed.”



Farel was one of those who attended the great disputation of Berne, in the year 1528: after which, the reformation was established in the government of Aigle, as in other dependencies of Berne, but not without much opposition. Farel had a coadjutor allotted him of the name of Simon. Another reformed minister, named Robert, was stationed at Bex, which had shewn itself zealous in the cause of reformation: and competent salaries were assigned them all.

Farel continued to preach in the town and neighbourhood of Aigle during the greater part of the year 1529: but he seems to have felt himself called rather to do "the work of an evangelist" in divers parts of the country, than to remain as a stationary pastor in any one place. Having therefore with great pains provided suitable ministers to build upon the foundation which he had laid, he himself sallied forth to carry the evangelical doctrine into places where it had not yet been heard. In these enterprises he was sanctioned by a general brief or patent from the council of Berne, not only authorising him to preach throughout their territories, but recommending him to all such of their neighbours and allies as were willing to receive him. Fortified by this licence and protection, Farel proceeded in the beginning of summer to Morat, a town celebrated in the military history of Switzerland, having a small bailliage annexed to it, and subject to Berne and Friburg jointly. Here his success was so great that in a short time his converts felt themselves sufficiently strong to claim the advantage of the late peace of religion, and required to have the question of retaining the Romish, or adopting the reformed faith, put to the vote. This decision however did not yet take place at Morat: but in the beginning of the next year it was made in favour of the reformed doctrine. Even from among the priests Farel gained converts; and his work so increased

upon his hands, that he felt it necessary to write to his friends at Strasburg to send him some assistants, who might share it with him.

About the month of October, 1529, we find him at Lausanne, accompanied by a citizen of Berne. Whether he preached publicly does not appear: but both he and his companion met with such ill treatment from the bishop and the clergy of the place, that the lords of Berne highly resented it, and sent the preachers back with the declaration that they would consider any further injury done to them as done to themselves.

Farel soon after visited Bienne, having been invited by the magistrates to preach in their town and the territory pertaining to it. From Bienne he proceeded again to Neuchâtel, then lately restored to its own countess. Here he found numerous persons well disposed to receive his doctrine; but he was resolutely opposed both by the priests and the magistrates, so that he could not obtain access to the churches. Under these circumstances he scrupled not to preach in private houses, and even in the streets, where crowds of people assembled to hear him, though it was in the month of December. He himself thus describes to his people at Aigle what was passing at Neuchâtel, in the year 1529. "I would not have you ignorant, my dear brethren, what Jesus Christ has wrought in his people. For beyond all hope he has touched the hearts of many, so that, in spite of the tyrannical orders issued, and of the efforts of the shaven crowns, they have run to hear the word of God, which we have preached to them at the gates of the town, in the streets, in barns, and in houses. They hear with avidity: and, what is wonderful, they have received all that they have heard—not excepting those truths which are directly opposed to the errors that had taken the deepest root in their minds. Join me therefore in rendering thanks to the Father of mercies."

Farel now returned to Aigle, that he might at least spend the sacred season of the nativity with those whom he considered as more especially his flock. But he was not allowed to rest there long. In travelling from Neuchâtel to Aigle he passed through Morat: and here he found the council desirous of again having the advantage of his residence among them. From Morat, even in the depth of winter, this indefatigable servant of Christ extended his labours into the neighbouring country, with so much zeal as drew complaints against him from the government of Friburg, and obliged that of Berne to enjoin him in his proceedings to keep strictly within the limits of the late treaty of peace. Several places however, through his means, established the reformation in the usual manner: and in some other instances, where the reformed were numerous, by an arrangement between the two cantons which held the joint sovereignty, the emoluments of the living were divided between the Romish priest and the reformed minister.

As the spring advanced, Farel proceeded to preach at Neuchâtel, Vallengin, Bonneville, and in the district in which Moutier and Dellemont stand, and which, though subject to the bishop of Basle as its temporal prince, was dependent on Berne in the affairs of religion. Here the people were well disposed to receive a preacher of reformation; and Farel's exertions and success were so great as to excite the spleen of the bishop, and to oblige the council of Berne to renew its admonitions to him, though in the most friendly spirit, to observe the prescribed limitations. On his paying another visit to Neuchâtel, the clergy were enjoined by the governor not to allow him to preach in the churches, and the people not to hear him. The injunction upon the people however was disregarded, and he preached in the open air with marvellous success. In fact the number of those who came to hear him, and to confer with him on the subject of religion,

was so great, that it became indispensably necessary for him to call in the aid of other ministers: and to these the churches were opened. The governor complained of these proceedings to the council of Berne: but his complaint was met by a counter-representation from the citizens, urging that, as they had been in the number of those who assisted the Bernese in the late armaments, they were included in the treaty of peace, and entitled in virtue of it to embrace the reformation in case it met with the approbation of a majority of their number. And in this way, accordingly, the town and parish of Neuchâtel did shortly after decide in favour of the reformed faith. Violent opposition however was made, and dangerous tumults were excited: but by the interposition of Berne they were appeased, and stipulations entered into between the governor, on behalf of the countess, and the other parties concerned, for securing the rights of each. Still the malcontents were not quieted: and a plot was detected, and by the vigour of Berne defeated, for surprising the reformed with an armed force while engaged in public worship, (when probably a massacre of them would have ensued,) and for replacing all things upon the ancient footing. A considerable part of this agitation is no doubt to be traced to the absence of just views of tolerance on one side as well as the other. When the Roman catholics were outvoted, they seem to have been allowed less indulgence in practising the rites of their religion, than was elsewhere successfully claimed, under the protection of Berne, for a minority professing the reformed faith. Farel continued to preach throughout the country, while a colleague, named Anthony Marcourt, took charge of the church in the capital: and thus in the course of two or three years he effected the reformation of almost the entire principality. Bonneville also followed the example of Neuchâtel, and embraced the reformed religion.

In Vallengin Farel was not so successful. While he was preaching there, a priest came and commenced the celebration of mass. As the people appeared more attracted by the ceremonies of the priest than by the sermon of Farel, a young man, who attended the latter, was guilty of the gross imprudence and impropriety of snatching the consecrated host from the hands of the priest, holding it up to the people, and attempting to harangue them on the folly of regarding that sorry object as their God! The people were shocked and the priests infuriated: the tocsin was sounded, and the alarm-bells rung. Farel in attempting to retire was seized, beaten, and struck with stones. Those into whose hands he had fallen hurried him to a chapel, and insisted on his kneeling to the images of the saints; and, on his refusing to do so, they beat him with such violence that the stains of his blood were long to be traced upon the walls of the chapel. They then threw him into a dungeon: from which he was however released through the intercession of his friends at Neuchâtel; and he resumed his work in their country.—Such are the obstructions to useful labours which an intemperate and misguided zeal often raises up. While we admire, and commend to imitation, a zeal which is at once ardent and well-regulated, let us not forget that Christian meekness and wisdom have their proper province: and that if, as we have been told, ‘*prudence* does not often convert men,’ imprudence may frequently prevent their conversion. The prayer of the apostle for his people was, “that their love might abound, in knowledge and in all judgment.”

Bienne, it may be remarked, uniting itself with Berne, manifested much zeal in the cause of religion, and at this time effected the reformation of the valley of S. Imier, or Erguel, where it had some years before attempted to correct the dissolute habits of the clergy.

Most of the transactions which we have here re-

corded, placing out of the account some disorders, and some want of due tolerance (the fault of the times,) among the reformed, and not a few acts of violence in the opposite party, are satisfactory, as far as we are informed concerning them. We feel however that the accounts want particularity, and that discovery of the feelings of heart with which the truth was received, and of the effects which it produced on temper and character, that even very brief relations in the Acts of the Apostles commonly display. But we are not left without the most satisfactory proofs of the zeal and piety of Farel, and we contemplate with joy and gratitude the abundant success with which his labours were crowned. To them it is greatly owing that these parts of Switzerland to the present day profess the reformed faith; and we cannot but conclude that such changes were not made, in the circumstances in which they now took place, without a powerful sanctifying influence of divine grace on the hearts even of great numbers.—We now return to the other parts of Switzerland.

A subject which much engaged the attention of the Helvetian churches at this period was the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, including the excommunication of notorious offenders, according to the practice of the primitive times. This was, and ever must be, found a question of great practical difficulty. Repeated consultations of the most eminent of the reformed ministers were held upon it, without their being able to come to any satisfactory decision, or to adopt any common plan. The best and ablest men differed in opinion; leaving, by their discussions, the restoration of the “godly discipline of the primitive church” to be regarded as a blessing rather to be “wished”<sup>1</sup> than hoped for. The great advocate for its revival was Ecolampadius: and he succeeded in establishing at Basle, under the sanc-

<sup>1</sup> Commination Service.

tion of the council, a scheme of discipline, the operation of which, for the short time that his premature death allowed him to make trial of it, gave him great satisfaction.<sup>1</sup> Zwingli took the contrary side. He thought the plan impracticable, and not adapted to the present state of the church.

The Anabaptists still continued to occasion much trouble to the reformed churches. In some places they appear to have been connived at or even countenanced by the papists, as a means of obstructing the reformation by the scandals which they occasioned: while many favoured their progress in the hope of relieving themselves, by their aid, from the payment of tithes and other tributes to both church and state.

At Soleure, in particular, their influence was felt to be very pernicious in both these ways: and it contributed much to bring the promising openings of the reformation in that canton to an unfavourable issue. We have seen that the reformed had become so numerous in the town of Soleure as to be allowed a second minister; and that there were even indications of the reformation being established by a plurality of votes.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been in the canton however, rather than within the town, that their strength chiefly lay. At Soleure itself the principal inhabitants were generally hostile; and many of this class, from one or other of the motives just mentioned, now supported the Anabaptists. The reformed however solicited the assistance of Haller from Berne; and a promise of protection was even obtained for him from the council of Soleure. He accordingly visited that town, and preached there for some time; but without any very promising appearances of success. Considerable asperity of feeling was manifested between the two parties: and one morning the whole town

<sup>1</sup> He is said however to have been obliged to relinquish it again.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 174.

thrown into confusion by the announcement of an extraordinary fact, that their patron saint S. Urse, whose image is meant—was found in the principal church covered with sweat, which was excited as proceeding from his distress at witnessing the progress of heresy among the people of his diocese! The fact was, that some holy water, which had been sprinkled upon the altar and the statue, had congealed into ice, through the severity of the winter, and therefore remained visible to such as came to the place. But the contrivance answered the purpose of those who knew how to avail themselves of the credulity of the people. The magistrates of the papal party, in concert with the provost and canons, caused the bells to be tolled, the mass to be celebrated, and processions to be made in honour of their “celestial prince,” and to relieve the disquietude he had felt on their account. The excitement of the people was excessive: Haller with the reformed preachers was in danger of being persecuted; in consequence of which he returned to Geneva; and very violent proceedings followed. On the demand of the reformed a public disputation was agreed to; but the council fixed for it a day some months’ distance: and in point of fact it did not take place—as probably it was intended that it never should. As far as the town of Soleure was concerned, the reformed ministers appear to have been silenced: and most unhappily also, in the midst of these disturbances and dangers from within, the ministers who remained in the canton fell into disputes among themselves, on such frivolous questions as whether they should follow the usage of Geneva, of Berne, or of Basle, in the administration of the Lord’s supper. Such infatuation could lead to a fatal result: and accordingly it drew from good Ecolampadius a strong and mournful exhortation. Thus by a combination of painful circumstances were the hopes that had been cherished,



of seeing the reformation established in Soleure, extinguished; and to this day those hopes have never been revived, or at least never realized.

Æcolampadius was this year deputed, in company with a member of the council, to visit the several churches in the canton of Basle, for the purpose of reforming abuses and introducing beneficial regulations. In doing this he met with considerable obstruction and insult from the Anabaptists. Basle was also at this time infested with the presence of the well-known heretic, Michael Servetus, who there, at the age of twenty-two, published his first work against the Trinity. Æcolampadius, by the direction of the magistrates, examined his book, held conferences with him, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his errors; but he was treated with little respect by the rash and conceited youth. Servetus withdrew from Basle to Strasburg, and thence into France.

It will be remembered that it was in this year also that the diet of Augsburg was held, to which the celebrated Confession of the protestants was presented. As that occasion made the inconveniences which resulted from the unhappy division between the reformed bodies of Germany and Switzerland to be felt in the most sensible manner, it called forth some important writings, and thus perhaps laid the basis of some considerable changes, relative to the question at issue between the two parties. Melancthon sent to his friend Oswald Myconius, at Zurich, a collection which he had made from the fathers of passages relating to the eucharist, accompanied by some sharp remarks on the sacramentarians, (as he called those who held the doctrine of Zwingle,) and on Carolstadt whom he affected to consider as their head. This drew from Æcolampadius a much more copious collection and illustration of the sentences of the fathers upon the subject, in the form of a dialogue, in which Melancthon's essay, his letter to

Myconius, and some further correspondence are introduced. This work is said to have produced a strong impression, not only on others, but on Melancthon himself. He attempted no reply to it: and Ruchat says, "The next year he began to open his eyes, and to shew that he was no longer satisfied with the doctrine of the corporal presence, and would have been glad to see the two parties united."

The remainder of this chapter must be almost entirely of a nature remote from the wishes, and painful to the feelings, of that class of readers whose instruction and gratification we would especially consult. The year 1531 was occupied with feuds and contentions, or with negotiations in which it was in vain attempted to appease them: the whole ending in a calamitous civil war. Such materials must be allowed to take up but little space in this work.

The late peace had indeed suspended hostilities, but it had not pacified men's minds. Rather it had chafed the temper of the popish party. They had agreed to it from necessity and not from inclination; and they could not but feel that it tended to advance that cause against which they cherished a deadly hate. As will always be the case under such circumstances, various things occurred, both on the one side and the other, to exasperate the feelings of the parties. The reformed cantons were irritated by innumerable and virulent calumnies propagated against them, and countenanced rather than checked by the heads of the cantons opposed to them. The ministers and professors of the reformed doctrine who resided under the jurisdiction of papal powers were subjected to increasing persecution. On the other hand, the Roman-catholic party were not left without just cause of complaint. The reformed, and particularly Zurich, made larger demands than they were entitled to do respecting the propagation of their doctrines in the popish cantons; and in the common

bailliages they seem to have assumed more than of right belonged to them as only joint sovereigns. But particularly the abbey of S. Gallen furnished a ground of quarrel, which perhaps more than any other proved the immediate occasion of hostilities. This princely establishment was under the protection of the four cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Glaris—two of them reformed, and two Roman-catholic. The abbot having died in the year 1529, the four cantons had differed respecting the appointment of his successor. Zurich and Glaris would have suspended the election, in hopes of reforming the abbey and its territories; but Lucerne and Schweitz encouraged the monks to proceed to an immediate election—which they accordingly did. Various altercations followed, and the newly appointed abbot appears to have given general offence by withdrawing into the territories of the house of Austria, taking with him the writings and most valuable treasures of the abbey, even before he had obtained confirmation from the pope. It was then agreed that the abbey and its dependencies should be placed under the administration of an officer, deputed successively by each of the four cantons. Zurich and Glaris however, without communication with the other two cantons, entered into arrangements with the communities subject to the abbey, by which the above-named officer was to be considered as, for the time being, the supreme governor of the country; (which was, in effect, claiming for the cantons the sovereignty, and not merely the protectorship of the territories of the abbey;) that on his entrance upon office he should take an oath to leave the people in possession of the word of God, and of such religious observances as they had received; that the council of the country should consist of twelve judges attached to the word of God; that the pastors should be elected by the respective congregations, and admitted at Zurich, the town of S. Gallen, or Constance; that several bur-

some services imposed on the people should be continued; that the jewels, ornaments, and superfluous goods of the churches should be employed for the benefit of the poor; and that no new administrator should be admitted till he had sworn to observe the regulations. The abbot, on hearing that such measures were adopted, immediately betook himself to Augsburg, to the emperor, (from whom he had obtained investiture,) to solicit his protection; and received a favourable answer; but in his way back was accidentally drowned. A successor however was immediately, whether very regularly or not, elected by the monks who had followed the late abbot to his German residence. Zurich and Glaris now proceeded still further. They took upon them to dispossess the abbey of the town of S. Gallen; to release the people of Tockenbourg from their dependence upon it; to assign pensions out of its funds to such of the monks as had embraced the reformation; and to dispose of its remaining revenues for public uses! When the administrator from Zurich was to have been succeeded by one from Lucerne, the latter, as he refused to take the oath prescribed him in the way above related, was excluded till he should consent to do it. One is utterly at a loss to conceive under what pretences Zurich and Glaris could justify, even to themselves, such proceedings as these. They elected, indeed, the two late elections to the office of abbot, as irregular and illegal, and they claimed to protect the reformed inhabitants of the territories of the abbey: but neither of these pretensions could warrant the measures which they adopted. It was to have been their determination to secularize the abbey, recognizing its head, probably, as a temporal prince, but disowning his spiritual authority, and abolishing the monastic institution over which he presided: for they argued that the temporal and spiritual power ought not to be united in the same hands. *It is lamentable when religion is thus made*

the pretext for manifest injustice and usurpation: and such conduct must ever be reprobated, on whatever side it is found.

These with several other subjects of difference were brought before a general diet of the cantons, assembled at Baden on the eighth of January, 1531; and Berne and Basle endeavoured to induce Zurich to come to an accommodation with its opponents: but the attempt was unavailing.

Another occurrence excited strong feelings of disgust towards the cantons of the other party. It arose out of what has been called the war of Muss. John James de Medicis, an unprincipled adventurer, in no way connected, it would seem, with the illustrious house whose name he assumed, had been rewarded by the emperor Charles V. with a small principality on the lake of Como. He assumed the title of marquis of Muss:<sup>1</sup> and, being ambitious further to aggrandise himself at the expence of a weak neighbour, he seized upon the Valteline, a province belonging to the Grison league. The Grisons, in virtue of their treaties, claimed the assistance of their allies the Swiss. The five popish cantons alone refused their aid, alleging the dangers to which, as they pretended, they were themselves exposed from their reformed neighbours. The other eight cantons promptly marched to the succour of the Grisons; recovered the Valteline; and speedily brought their expedition to a successful issue.

Nothing could be more contrary to all the principles of the Swiss confederation, than the conduct of the five cantons on this occasion. Thus to desert their ally in a case of gross injury and great emergency was felt to be a shameful violation of their engagements: and, as no sufficient reason for their conduct was apparent, it excited strong suspicion of their entertaining designs which they would not

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 161.

avow. "If they acted thus towards an ally against whom they had no cause of complaint," it was argued, "what were the reformed cantons to expect from them? Was there not reason to believe that they were secretly meditating actual violence against them?" Other circumstances corroborated these fears. The persecutions of the reformed within the territories of the five cantons recommenced with more fury than ever. It seemed as if the Romanists, assured of some foreign support, thought themselves excused from keeping any measures towards the objects of their hatred. On the other hand, the victims of their intolerance loudly implored the protection of Zurich, and they found in Zwingle an advocate equally zealous and eloquent. "These are Swiss," said he, "whom a faction is attempting to deprive of a portion of the liberty transmitted to them from their ancestors. If it would be unjust to attempt to force our adversaries to abolish the Romish religion from among them, it is no less so to imprison, to banish, and to deprive citizens of their property, because their consciences impel them to embrace opinions which are obnoxious to their oppressors."

Thus was each party inflamed against the other, and neither could be justified from the charge of injurious conduct. The people of Zurich were so much bent upon bringing the quarrel to the decision of the sword, that they sent deputies to all the members of the reformed league to stimulate what they thought their too languid zeal. At the meeting however of these states, held at Arau in the month of May, Zurich stood alone in voting for immediate war. It was resolved that the deputies should refer it to their respective governments to decide, whether circumstances warranted their having recourse to the means of bringing the refractory to reason, which the late treaty of peace sanctioned in a case of emergency by interdicting all commerce with the five cantons. The measure here referred to was one of extreme

severity to those cantons; since the greater part of them having, from the nature of their country, little of native growth beside their flocks, they depended on their neighbours for every other necessary of life. This species of blockade was actually adopted: but, so far from producing the intended effect, of bringing their adversaries to a more submissive and reasonable temper, it drew general odium on those who had inflicted it; and roused to the highest pitch the indignation and resentment of those who suffered from it. They resolved to listen to no terms of accommodation, to which the removal of the interdiction of commerce was not made a preliminary.

We have of late had little opportunity of learning the sentiments of Zwingle on passing events. We feel pleasure in being here informed, that he was averse to these extreme measures. After the prohibition of intercourse had been read in the church on the eve before Whitsunday, he the next day preached openly against it. "He could have wished," he said, "that the reformed should meet the insults and injuries offered to them with patience and meekness, becoming the gospel which they professed." This is another proof that he must not be made responsible for all the proceedings of the council of Zurich, even where they might be considered as in some degree bearing upon the question of religion. It is the second instance in which we have heard him openly condemn from the pulpit the measures of government.

Indeed the situation of the reformer was at this period in the highest degree painful and perplexing. There were many persons at Zurich who in their hearts disliked the reformation to which they outwardly conformed, and for which they had even expressed some zeal. Many, who possessed wealth, and who were ambitious of adding to their store, repined at the loss of the foreign pensions; which they ascribed to Zwingle. Numbers more were irritated by his severe and impartial rebukes of the sins in which

ey chose to live. As he had been the great prompter of the reformation, which now threatened to involve them in trouble, they cast upon him the blame of whatever they suffered or apprehended, though they rejected his counsels, which might have proved the means of extricating them from their difficulties. In short he felt himself regarded as "the Jonah" who had raised the storm, and whom many, with less reluctance than the heathen mariners shewed, would have sacrificed in the hope of appeasing it. "Fearing that he could no longer usefully discharge the duties of his office, he took the resolution of quitting Zurich. In the month of July he appeared before the council, and thus addressed them: 'For eleven years I have announced to you the gospel in all its purity: as became a faithful pastor, I have spared neither exhortation, nor reprimands, nor warnings. I have represented to you, on many occasions, how great a misfortune it would be to all Switzerland that you should again allow yourselves to be guided by those whose ambition is their God. You have made no account of my remonstrances: I see introduced into the council men destitute of morality and religion, who have nothing in view but their own interest; who are enemies of evangelical doctrine, and zealous artisans of our adversaries. These are the men who are now listened to, and who have the sole direction of affairs. As long as you act in this manner, no good is to be hoped for: and since it is to me that all our misfortunes are attributed, though none of my counsels are followed, I demand my dismissal, and will go and seek an asylum elsewhere.'—This unexpected address confounded almost equally the friends and the enemies of Zwingle. Before the latter had recovered from their astonishment, the senate named a deputation, which was commissioned to wait upon the reformer, and entreat him not to desert his flock. All the tenderness of friendship, and all the ardour of patriotism, were employed in vain by the deputies.



Seeing Zwingle inexorable, they then forcibly represented the blow that the reformation would sustain from his quitting Zurich, the principal seat of protestantism in Switzerland. This consideration overbalanced all his objections; he yielded to their entreaties, and three days after he again appeared before the grand council, thanked them for the testimonies of attachment that he had received from them, and promised that to his latest hour he would devote himself entirely to the good of their country."

On many occasions however he shewed the painful forebodings which occupied his mind, as well as declared the personal preparation which he felt for all events. To one who asked him, what he thought might be portended by a comet which appeared about this time, he replied: "It forebodes death to me, and to many persons of worth and character. Truth and the church will be involved in distress: but Christ will not forsake us. I trust in God who is righteous and faithful: but I would put no confidence in men." At another time, noticing the succession of faults which had been committed, he said: "They form a series of links which will draw on the loss of my life, and of the lives of many good citizens of Zurich. I am the person specially pointed at. Well! I am ready—prepared for whatever may please my Saviour." "In vain," he writes to one of his friends, "do you attempt to divert me from my career, by reminding me of the tragical end of those who have preceded me: your predictions cannot inspire me with dismay: I will not deny my Saviour before men, that he may not deny me before my Heavenly Father and the angels. He also died for the truth, who was Truth itself. Shall I remind you of the apostles, the crowd of martyrs among the first Christians? They all fell under the strokes of their enemies, but what they taught will nevertheless remain eternally true. Whatever may be my fate, I know that truth will triumph, even when my bones

shall long have been reduced to dust." His courage increased with the danger: if he felt inquietude, it was not for himself, but for the fate of protestantism: and here a deep conviction of the goodness of his cause supported him. "We ought to regard ourselves," would he often say, "as *instruments* in the hand of the Most High. *We* may be broken, but his will shall nevertheless be accomplished. Let us shun neither the dangers nor the sufferings necessary to reestablish Christianity in its ancient purity, even though we ourselves should never enjoy its restoration, but should resemble those warriors whose eyes have closed for ever before they beheld the victory purchased by their blood. There is a God in heaven who beholds and judges the combatants: there are men on earth who will reap the fruits of our labours, when we shall have obtained their recompence in a better world."

In the mean time the most unremitting exertions were used by those who, for whatever reason, wished well to the peace of Switzerland, to effect an accommodation between the parties. The king of France, the cantons of Glaris, Friburg, and Soleure, and the city of Strasburg, took on them the office of mediators; and they appear to have executed it with zeal and impartiality. But the parties were exasperated against each other, and nothing but tasting the bitterness of civil warfare could bring them to listen to reasonable terms. The mediators, who, though themselves principally Roman catholics, appear to have imputed the chief blame to the five cantons, proposed terms to the contending parties, and even approved some which had been offered by the reformed; and Zwingle himself, anxious to prevent hostilities, went secretly to Bremgarten, to persuade his friends to abandon the blockade; but he too pleaded in vain. On this occasion he with tears took his last farewell of Bullinger, then pastor of the town.

War now became inevitable: and accordingly it

was declared against Zurich by the five cantons on the 8th of October, 1531. In the hope of dividing the reformed, they confined their declaration to Zurich alone, leaving Berne to be involved in it only as the ally of that canton. To enter into the particulars of the short but calamitous warfare which followed would be both painful, and foreign to our purpose. Suffice it to say, that here, as in the war of Smalkald,<sup>1</sup> every thing was on the part of the reformed, and particularly of Zurich, conducted in the worst possible manner. The account cannot be read without exciting a feeling of indignation at the weakness manifested and the errors committed. Though the people of Zurich had been so ready to engage in war or even so eager for it, they allowed themselves, after the long delay that had occurred, to be taken unprepared. In the city all was disorder, division, and want of plan. Different parties contended with one another, and all that each could effect was, to prevent the adoption of any decisive measures by its opponent. They were compelled to push forward a flying camp of only seven hundred men, to preserve their country from immediate invasion. These were attacked before their allies could join them: and about two thousand of what should have been their main army, hastily got together, came up, harassed and in disorder, only to share their defeat. Zwingle, at the command of the council, and in conformity with the customs of his country, accompanied the army. As long as he entertained any hope of promoting pacification, he had been ready to undertake this service but when that hope vanished he would willingly have declined it, could he have done so with propriety, or without disobeying the orders of his government. On the march, he was observed to conduct himself like a man consciously going out to meet his death. His conversation with his friends

<sup>1</sup> Lutheran Reformation, ii. 259, &c.

comported with this idea ; and his gestures indicated a mind frequently absorbed in prayer. As they descended mount Albis, and approached to Cappel, the scene of the action, and only three leagues from Zurich, they heard the roaring of the canon : when Zwingle urged the officers to speed their march lest they should arrive too late. "As for me," said he, "I will go in the name of the Lord, and join my brethren : if I cannot assist in saving them, we will die together." But the small and ill-provided reinforcement with which he marched could avail nothing against enemies four times their number, and fresh from their quarters. When the first ranks had fallen and the rest fled, Zwingle, with a halbert in his hand, which he stretched across their course, in vain attempted to restrain their flight, calling out to them "not to fear, for that they were in a good cause ; to commend themselves to God, and stand their ground." He appears to have been first beaten to the ground by a stone, and afterwards on rising, or attempting to rise, to have been repeatedly thrown down, and trodden upon by the crowd. At length he received a wound in the throat from a spear, which he supposed to be mortal ; when sinking down on his knees he exclaimed, "Is this to be esteemed a calamity ? They can kill the body, but the soul they cannot touch." When the soldiers came to strip the slain, he was found yet alive, lying on his back, with his hands clasped together, and his eyes lifted up to heaven. He was asked if he wished a confessor to be sent for ; then if he would invoke the virgin : and, on his declining both, he was instantly despatched. When the body was discovered to be that of Zwingle, it was condemned, by a military tribunal, to be cut in quarters and then burned to ashes : which barbarous but impotent sentence, with other indignities, was accordingly carried into execution.

The affairs of the reformed might, with common prudence and management, have been easily re-

trieved. The armies which had been engaged could be considered but as detachments; and the loss of the Zurichers, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, scarcely exceeded five hundred men.<sup>1</sup> Their allies poured in to their assistance, and they had soon an army of twenty thousand men in the field—a number much superior to that of the enemy. But the want of discipline, disunion, and the treachery of those who secretly hated the reformation, subjected them a few days after to a second defeat, at Mont de Zoug, which appears to have quite sunk their spirit, and struck them with panic. They, who had lately been so haughty and irritable, thought now of nothing but making peace on almost any terms. But still the same improvidence and imbecility marked their conduct. They agreed to withdraw their troops into their own territories, but forgot to stipulate for a cessation of arms during the negotiations; so that, while treating for peace, the enemy still carried on hostilities, and pillaged several places. Zurich likewise hesitated not to conclude a separate peace, leaving its allies, the Bernese and several smaller powers, to shift for themselves. The treaty was made under the mediation of the king of France, the duke of Savoy, the cantons of Glaris, Friburg, and Appenzel, and some other powers. The very first article shewed what had particularly galled the opponents of the reformed. It stipulated that the Roman-catholic cantons should be no more molested on the subject of religion, and of allowing the reformed doctrine to be preached or professed within their territories. In the common bailliages those who had embraced the reformed faith were not to be disturbed:

<sup>1</sup> Among these, however, were twenty members of one or both councils, and fifteen ecclesiastics! which shews the extent to which the custom of the ministers accompanying the Swiss troops to battle was carried. Among these ecclesiastics, besides Zwingli, were Geroldseck, the administrator of Einsiedlin, Schmidt, the commendator of Kusnacht, and Joner, the abbot Cappel: all of them names well known to us.

and it was even agreed that, in places where both forms of religion were professed, the income of the livings should be divided between the priests and the reformed pastors, in proportion to their respective congregations: an arrangement more favourable than could have been expected.—Berne soon after concluded a treaty for itself on nearly similar terms: and peace was once more restored in Switzerland.

Painful consequences however, as was to be expected, followed in several places. At Rapersweil, which had recently embraced the reformation, perhaps rather from secular motives than from real attachment to its principles, renounced it again; popery was permanently reestablished there; and the reformed minister, Justus Kilchmeyer, was exposed to imminent peril. At Bremgarten and Mellingen the reformation was likewise suppressed and finally extinguished, notwithstanding the exertions of Zurich and Berne in its favour; the two Bullingers, Schuler, and the avoyer Mutschli retiring to Zurich. The younger Bullinger and Schuler, the pastors of Bremgarten, were expressly excepted from the benefits of the peace. Some other places surrendered their profession for fear of persecution, or for the hope of advantage: so that Zurich became the resort of numerous ministers driven from their cures. Even in that town such a burst of zeal took place on the part of those who were hostile to the reformation, that Leo Jude was forced for a time to conceal himself: and in the canton of Berne like efforts were made by the malcontent party: but they were soon put down by the firmness and prudence of the council. Some minor places did themselves great honour by nobly standing firm in trying circumstances, and risking all consequences.

But the loss sustained by the Swiss churches did not end with the death of Zwingli and those who fell with him in battle. The death of the meek and holy, the learned and devoted Oecolampadius fol-

lowed only six weeks afterwards—being probably hastened by his grief for the late occurrences, and particularly for the bereavement which he felt that he had sustained in the death of his illustrious friend. The account given of his latter end by those who witnessed it is too interesting and edifying to be omitted.

In a letter written to some ministers at Ulm, three weeks after the death of Zwingle, Æcolampadius expresses how much he was affected by that event: but, he says, “I well know the faith which those men” (Zwingle and others who had fallen with him,) “reposed in God; so that no ill could befall them: but, when I think of the false statements, and wrong inferences, with which the minds of the simple are assailed, and which cannot be counteracted, this afflicts me most deeply.”—He was fifteen days confined to his bed; during which time he constantly pronounced that his disease was mortal, and “with his whole soul longed for his transition to the light of heaven.” “He waited not for consolation from others, but administered it to all who approached him.” He made no will, having nothing to leave; though his parents had been people of good substance; but, addressing his three children by name, (though they were too young to understand him,) he bade them “love God as their father:” and, turning to his wife, and her mother, and other relations, “conjured them to train up his children in piety, peaceableness, and integrity.”

But the best memorial we have of his closing scene is his address to his brother-ministers, and the elders of the church. “Ye see,” said he, “that the Lord is at hand, and just about to remove me from you. I wished therefore to call you together, and to satisfy my soul, with my beloved brethren, in true joy and consolation in the Lord. What then shall I say to you in this my last farewell, ye servants of Christ, united with me in the same love to our common Lord,

the same pursuit, the same doctrine?—Salvation is procured for us by Christ: to him we owe our confidence of attaining the kingdom of God, the sure instruction we enjoy, and clear light for our feet. All sadness, all fear of life or death, all doubt and wavering ought to be far removed from us. This only remains, that, as we long ago commenced, so should we go on constantly and faithfully to tread in Christ's steps; first in unsullied purity of doctrine, and next in a life in all things conformed to the living word of God. As to the rest, the Lord Christ, who is mighty and ever watchful, will defend his church. Well then, brethren, let our light so shine before men that God our Father may be glorified in us. Let the name of Christ be rendered illustrious by your life and conversation: live in love one with another: pass your whole lives as in the sight of God. In vain is piety inculcated by words only: the light of a holy life, a heavenly temper of mind, is necessary, if we would confound Satan, and be the instruments of converting the world to God.—Oh, brethren, what clouds arise, what storms gather; what estrangement of men's minds do we perceive; what ungodliness abounds! But stand fast, and endure to the end. God himself will be your ever-present helper. Oh that I could encounter dangers with you, and again and again pour out my life for the truth! But (I may say,) this is allowed me: for our love is inseparable, our union in Christ indissoluble; the righteous have all things in common."—Then, referring more especially to himself, he said: "The charge of corrupting the truth, which is brought against me, troubles me not at all: through the grace of God, I pass to the tribunal of Christ with a pure conscience in that respect: there it will be clear that the church has not been seduced by us. I leave you all witnesses of this my protestation, and confirm it with my dying breath."—His brethren then gave him their hands as



a pledge that they would undertake the charge of the church, and exert themselves to fulfil his wishes.—He asked a friend who came in, What news he brought? On being answered, None, he said, “But I have news for you—I shall soon be with the Lord Christ.” When some about him disconsolately inquired, What light could be shed upon their present darkness? touching his breast, he said, “There is abundance of light within.”—He repeated the whole fifty-first Psalm, dwelling particularly on the petitions for the forgiveness of sins. He then, after a short pause, ejaculated the prayer, “Save me, O Christ Jesus!” and “yielded up his spirit to God, with such calmness, and such sure confidence in Christ, as filled all present with joy and gratitude, which they expressed with bended knees, and uplifted hands, around his bed.”—He was buried in the cathedral of Basle, all the magistracy of the city attending his funeral.

The loss of these two great men at such a crisis must be considered as the heaviest which the church of Switzerland now sustained. God however, in his gracious providence, had raised up others qualified to succeed them, and to carry on his work. The offices of antistes, or chief pastor, and of professor of divinity, which had been united in Zwingle, were now divided, and the celebrated Henry Bullinger succeeded him in the former, while Theodore Bouchman, or Bibliander, was appointed to the latter. Bullinger, who was now only in the twenty-eighth year of his age, retained his post forty-four years, and rendered great and extensive service to the church of Christ. Bibliander was somewhat older; but he laboured at Zurich with much reputation and success for thirty-two years. Bullinger speaks in the highest terms of his associate: and Pellican bears the following testimony concerning the state of Zurich some time after their appointment: “The mercy and grace of God have ordered things in such

a manner, that, in the place of one Zwingle, and of the fidelity with which he laboured, the church has received a double blessing, and shews the effects of it in its increased edification."—Ecolampadius was succeeded at Basle by Oswald Myconius.

Here therefore, as in the case of Saxony, no such serious evils as might have been expected appear to have followed the defeat of the reformed. God rebuked the self-confidence and humbled the pride of his people, and by necessary chastisement taught them greater forbearance towards others, and more simple dependence upon himself; but, though he rebuked and chastened them, he "gave them not over unto death," neither "delivered them to the will of their enemies:" on the contrary he visited them, and restored blessings unto them. "We have learned," says Myconius, "to walk much more cautiously: we prize the gospel of Christ more highly; we look more simply to God; and the friends and the enemies of the gospel are more clearly discriminated."

Indeed it is a highly observable fact, and one which we are sure was not permitted without "a need be" for it, that each of the three great branches of the reformation, at an early period, suffered a check, which to the apprehension of contemporaries must have threatened its destruction. Such was the case in Switzerland by the victories obtained by the Roman-catholics over the reformed: in Germany, by a similar cause, followed by the suppression of the league of Smalkald, and the introduction of the Interim: and in England by the death of the good king Edward, and the succession of the bigoted and bloody Mary. Yet in each of these cases the fears of friends and the hopes of enemies were alike disappointed. The church was taught that "her help cometh from the Lord;" and that he "will not forsake his people," but in the time of exigency will appear for their deliverance: that "the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath"—all

that would go beyond his purposes—"will be strain." In each case, what might have been the destruction proved to be only correction: it pruning and not excision; and promoted, no vented, the production of good fruit, to the of God and the benefit of mankind. And such are assured, shall always be the event, both individual Christian and to the church at large God therefore let his suffering people at all turn, and to him "commit their cause" "in doing"—even to Him "which doeth great and unsearchable, marvellous things without number:" and, though his interposition be delayed "let them wait for it, because it will surely it will not tarry" beyond the prescribed and appropriate period.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Epistles of Zwingli and Œcolampadius—Works of Zwingli.*

BEFORE taking a final leave of Zwingli and Œcolampadius, two illustrious friends, who, as they had been united in their lives, in their death were not divided, we propose to lay before the reader some further specimens of their epistolary correspondence: and also a notice of some select works of the former of them. This will make the impression of their character and principles still more complete.

I. We begin with the letters of Zwingli.

The following was addressed by him, in 1520, to his friend Oswald Myconius, then struggling with difficulties in his native town of Lucerne, and in some danger of growing “weary, and fainting in his mind.”<sup>1</sup> The opening sentences may be thought strikingly applicable to our own times, which are characterized by *great good and great evil in conflict one with the other*.

“Your mind is harassed, my dear Myconius, with thinking what is to be the issue of these times, which are full of agitation and confusion, so that it is difficult to say what is their true character. Things are so mingled, that nothing can present itself from one quarter, which does not find its opposite, to counter-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 38, 39.

balance it, in another. Thus our hopes and fears are strangely raised together. We have been led to promise ourselves that times were returning when learning should be generally encouraged and cultivated: but the expectation is quashed by the obstinate ignorance or impudence of those, who are determined to endure all extremities rather than suffer their own deformity to be exposed. No feeble anticipations have been excited of the knowledge of Christ and the gospel being gloriously revived again, when so many good and learned and able men are ready to use every exertion to bring the harvest to perfection; but the sight of the tares, which an enemy hath sown, and which have struck their roots so deep that we cannot with safety attempt to eradicate them from among the wheat, damps the expectations we had formed. We must however listen to Christ's words: 'Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest' they shall be separated. Thus, my friend, must the gold be refined by the fire, the silver purified from the dross. So Christ warned his apostles: 'In the world ye shall have tribulation: Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: The time cometh when he that killeth you shall think that he doeth God service.' The children of Israel, though they inhabited the promised land, never found the Philistines wanting to harass them, or to tempt them to idolatry, and to draw them into the transgression of God's commandments; to convert them into heathens instead of the people of God: and we shall never find those wanting, who will persecute Christ in us, though they ostentatiously boast themselves of his name. But he only is a Christian, who bears the mark of Christ: 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye do whatsoever I command you.' They therefore that obey the commandments of men, rather than those of God, lack the mark of Christ. These are the enemies of God, and a crown awaits those

who hold out against them. The life of man upon earth is a warfare: he who would be partaker of future glory must fight manfully, putting on the armour to which Paul has directed us.—But, when you ask, in a tone of objection, ‘What avails it to teach those committed to us, when our labour is but lost or derided, and few or none obey the gospel?’ I answer, You must labour the more unremittingly to exhibit this goodly pearl, neglected or despised as it may be, in its native beauty, that there may be found those who shall be so captivated with it, as to sell all that they may purchase it. Does not Christ divide the seed into four parts, of which only one fell into good ground? Did he not say that he was come ‘to send fire upon earth?’ and even anticipate its being kindled? And what can this be but those sufferings in the midst of which the Christian is to endure to the end, and in which we seem even ‘to hate’ our own parents when they would draw us to unfaithfulness? and in which we bear with a brother even delivering us to death?—Are we to descend into the battle for the glory of this world, or for that honour which cometh from Christ? If we seek the former, it shall but resemble stubble, which as soon as the fire of the appointed trial touches it shall vanish in smoke, and its memory perish: but, if the latter, then we shall resemble the wise man who built upon the rock, (‘and that rock is Christ,’) and our work shall never perish. Then neither death, nor life, nor sword, nor any other of those things which the apostle enumerates, shall separate us from the love of Christ. He thus exhorts his soldiers to emulate his triumphs: ‘Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.’ What is the meaning of this? He has overcome the world: have we then overcome it too? Yes, we have overcome it IN HIM: for ‘we are not sufficient of ourselves, to reckon upon any thing as from ourselves.’ Whence he justly says, ‘Be of good cheer:’ as if he should say, If you place all

your dependence on me, as I have overcome ye shall overcome also.—These things are said to excite those who are already engaged, and are labouring to calm soldiers for Jesus Christ, who may manfully carry on his warfare; to animate such, that the more fiercely persecution presses them the less may they be disposed to turn their backs.—To tell you the truth without reserve, I am of opinion that, as the church was first raised in blood, so it will be restored in another way. Teach Christ therefore constantly to those under your instruction; and, the more you see his church overspread with rubbish, the more earnestly do you labour to train those who may cleanse it, as Hercules did the Augean stable—men who will neither loiter nor take disgust at their work, looking beyond this world for their reward; and who, if they draw upon themselves the displeasure of men, will not be stumbled at the fact, but will say to themselves, ‘If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ:’ and, to sum up all in one sentence, ‘Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness’ sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.’—The world can never be at concord with Christ and his reward is linked ‘with persecutions.’

“You see, brother, in what way you may hope that you are one of Christ’s sheep: namely, if, while you do every thing, and are willing to suffer every thing, for the glory of Christ, the cruel wolves tear you with their claws, whet their teeth at you, and strive to destroy you. . . . .

“Be of good courage: there will not be wanting in these times men who will purely teach Christ, and be willing to lay down their lives for his sake, however their names may be ‘cast out as evil’ among men. This has been the case from the times of old. For my own part, I devote myself; and expect all kinds of evil both from laity and churchmen. The only I implore of Christ, that he will enable me to endure with a determined mind, and either break

preserve me, his 'earthen vessel,' as seemeth him good. If I am excommunicated, I shall call to mind Hilary and Lucius, the former of whom was banished from Gaul into Africa, and the latter driven from the see of Rome, but restored again with honour. Not that I compare myself to such persons: but because I would compose my mind by remembering that men, much our superiors have suffered far more unworthy treatment."

To Haller of Berne, 1521. "I would at least shew my good will to render you any service in my power; though I know not that I can do any thing more. But we may thus obey the apostolical precept, 'Bear ye one another's burdens.' . . . God being our helper, let us prosecute the work of the gospel, which we commenced five years ago, till he shall give us our dismissal. This I will gladly perform, if only he will 'work in me both to will and to do.' For, as I do not conceal that through the infirmity of nature weariness sometimes creeps upon me, while I am reproached and reviled without deserving it, nay while I seem to myself to deserve well of all men; so I cannot deny that contrition succeeds to this weariness, while Christ applies to my conscience the goads of his word, by which he rouses the languid and sluggish mind, sometimes by means of alarms and sometimes by consolations. Thus he says, 'He that shall be ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my Father; and him that denieth me I will deny. He that loveth his life in this world shall lose it. Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou slothful and wicked servant. If the salt have lost its savour, it is henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot. The Lord when he cometh shall cut in sunder the unfaithful servant, and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.' With such passages he alarms us. By others he animates us with even eternal promises. Thus: 'He that shall confess me before men, him



will I confess before my Father. Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake : ' and that we may not be discouraged by reproach, ' Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil of you falsely, for my sake.' If our name be, on such grounds, utterly blotted out among men, it shall be enrolled in the records of heaven. And, lest the inability to speak in our own defence should render us cowardly, he assures us that his Spirit shall be our advocate. ' He that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved. Fear not them that kill the body,' for they cannot reach the soul.—Revolving these and the like sentences in my mind, I am sometimes raised even to a readiness to meet death for Christ's sake. On the other hand, when I consider the unhappiness of the times wherein we live, in which rashness and ingratitude, not to say injustice, pervade all places, and ruin every thing, I am reduced to such a state, as not to know what to think or do. But, when I come to myself again, I cannot but acknowledge that all these things are ordered by the divine appointment, that they who would not otherwise come to God by faith may be compelled to do it, when every thing else fails them."

To Peter Sebillville, " preacher at Grenoble," 1523. Having exhorted his unknown correspondent to " count his cost," and unreservedly set before him what he must be prepared to encounter if he would be faithful to Christ, he says: " And now, if I were a good orator, and you a man under the influence of mere natural principles, I should by such representations have driven you to despair, and you would be ready to hide your head in any retreat rather than to preach the gospel. But the Spirit of Christ, by which you are actuated; suffers not such a consequence to follow: but by prospects like these rather excites the mind to a noble daring, than damps its ardour. Go forward, then, brave man, and, clad in the Christian armour, come boldly out

the midst of France, and, lifting up your voice as a trumpet, proclaim the gospel in spite of the pope and all his puppets. Christ hath sounded the trumpet against all pharisees, scribes, and hypocrites: who will not prepare himself for the battle? 'The Lord hath roared,' said the prophet, 'who will not fear?' When Christ thunders by his ministers, which of his enemies will not be afraid? Yes, verily, there is a trembling throughout their whole camp. They are thrown into such confusion that they can to this moment resolve on no common plan. If they begin to slaughter the flock of Christ by the hands of the princes, they know not but this may open the way for the next attack to be made upon themselves.<sup>1</sup> And, if they attempt to oppose us by the scriptures, their hands hang down and they lose all energy, from consciousness of the violence they do to the word of God. Why then do we not rush upon them onwards, depending upon that one sufficient weapon, the word of God? for he will consume Antichrist with the spirit of his mouth.' Christ is for us, who can be against us? Though we are but 'earthen vessels,' no one can break us so long as God is present with us. But that he will be with us 'always unto the end of the world,' we are assured by the firm promise of his word. He has bid us be without carefulness even when brought before rulers and kings for his sake, for that he 'will give us a mouth and wisdom which all our adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist.' Why then do we hesitate? The victory is in our hands: shall we be backward to grasp it? Heaven and earth shall pass away sooner than the word of God shall fail. He has promised us victory: we cannot therefore but obtain it. I *should* say, we cannot but gain it if we do not remit our exertions. How the feeble flesh dismays us, I well know: but we must reflect again

<sup>1</sup> From the same quarter, the temporal princes.

and again, that it is by means of its pleas that enemy of our souls seduces us: and, while it inclines labours and sufferings, we must then resolutely turn from it, and close our ears against solicitations. For what greater evil could possibly befall us than to be drawn over to the party of flesh, and thus to become altogether carnal corrupt? But we shall be found of its party, if its sake we prove unfaithful to the spirit: and we are if we fail with all our might to rely on and his word—for by that alone the spirit is supported. Revolving therefore, my honoured friend, these considerations, and others still more direct and more powerful, which will occur to you, will be animated to encounter not only Antichrist and the princes, but the whole world: for you are at heavenly things, which can be attained only by those who despise the things of earth. It is necessary therefore, above all things, that you learn to deny yourself: and for this your own powers are utterly insufficient. You must have recourse to the mercy of God alone, and implore of him to direct your ways, to enlighten your mind, to excite your heart, that, by his grace, there may be nothing which you may not both dare to do, and know how to do."

The letters of Zwingli certainly exhibit him humble, holy, experienced Christian, as well as man of a bold, heroic, and devoted spirit.<sup>1</sup>

II. We now proceed to the epistles of Œcolampadius.

To Hedio at Mentz, about the time of the siege of Nuremberg, A. D. 1522-3.<sup>2</sup>—"The pope's letter is said to be sent to Nuremberg to bring the a

<sup>1</sup> Much more copious extracts from the letters both of Zwingli and Œcolampadius are given in the Continuation of Milner, vol. p. 121—194.

<sup>2</sup> Luth. Ref. i. 306, &c.

of Luther to a termination. . . . It may be expected to prove a time of crowns and rewards, (martyrdoms,) seeing the princes are so hostile. None should be less disposed to grieve than they who are engaged in the conflict. We have only to be quiet and endeavour to lay aside every weight and hinderance. We have to contend with cowards, and those who have already been repeatedly vanquished. Let us never fear enemies who have been conquered by women, conquered by children; men over whom their own passions always tyrannize, and hurry them into all kinds of evil. Christ is our liberty; if we boldly avow him, disregarding ourselves, our interests will all be safe; and that which most men fear will prove our gain. May the Lord strengthen you that you may never waver, nor have the same (infirmity) to lament that I have.<sup>1</sup> I hope, however, that by the grace of the Lord I shall be again restored to the light, and to the society and service of his people—for without that it were better to continue in concealment, and to live, like Diogenes, in a tub. My dear brother, I beseech you, give not way to dejection. The same Lord who was with them that have gone before us will not fail those who are to follow after; for he is 'the First and the Last.' Under his guidance it were weak indeed to fear: let us only confide. How can he that is all-sufficient desert us? We are *his*: may we mind only what belongs to him!"

To the same, 21 January, 1523.—"That which above all things I entreat of you is, that you would daily become more confirmed in the faith of Christ, and daily more and more edify the people of Christ, with words of fire (*ignitis verbis*). But there is no need for me thus to admonish you, who I know bend all your efforts to that point. I rather therefore beg you, as knowing your faith and zeal, to intercede

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 35.

for me, that Christ would look upon my unworthiness, and revive my miserable soul with his grace, For I also have a conflict to maintain, and the more severe for its being more secret. My sloth and cowardice reproach me; and still, through my old fault, I want power to rise superior to them. I always therefore am far from the mark. In consequence I feel the necessity, at least on my own part, (as we accustom ourselves to mutual exhortations,) of requiring that we should not neglect to pray for one another."

To Somius, of Ulm, 10 February, 1527.—"Beloved brother, it gives us great joy here to learn what things Christ works by your means, and through the instrumentality of his word at Ulm. The remembrance of our old friendship makes such news peculiarly refreshing to me. We pray that he who has begun this work will perfect it: for Satan will not cease from his arts until he is entirely put down by the coming of the Lord. . . . Who would not be terrified at the diabolical machinations which are resorted to? But we have learned that trials are good for us—that the thoughts of man are vain—and that 'cursed is he who maketh flesh his arm.' The cross must either be borne (resolutely), or quite thrown off. *Nothing is more fatal to the church of God than lukewarm ministers.*<sup>1</sup> In the mean time we must help one another by our mutual prayers, comfort one another by friendly letters, and communicate what the Spirit imparts to us. . . . Our enemies are too violent to allow us to hope for peace; but the goodness of God is too great to permit us to despond."

To Faræl at Aigle, 1527.—"Go on zealously, my friend, and be not stumbled by our delays (of re-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 172. To the same correspondent he had previously said: "Nothing so much converts the *pillars* of the church into '*reeds* shaken with the wind,' as the desire of vain glory." He had a notable example before him in Erasmus.

formation at Basle). We wish to have the name of excellent Christians, while we are more anxious for the friendship of the world than the very heathen are."

Writing to Melchior Ambach and John Mantelius, "faithful confessors of Christ and beloved brethren," 5 September, 1528, he sympathises with them under the ills of persecution, particularly as they affected the deserted flock, who were left to wolves or hirelings, while the enemy triumphed, the weak were discouraged, and those who were coming forward were repelled. "All these," he says, "besides the evils of banishment, (often worse than death itself,) are enough to move any heart which has in it the least spark of Christian charity; yet, since we know that we have a faithful God, who 'will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able,' a host of consolations is not wanting to us. The Spirit of God, who has trained you for this conflict, will supply you with all needful strength and courage. Your proscription and imposed silence shall sound more audibly in the hearts of the faithful than the loudest sermons. Your present confession shall be the inviolable seal of your former instructions. The blood of Abel had a voice; and your sufferings have a tongue. Away then with sadness and pusillanimity! It is blessed to be made conformable to the crucified One, whom we preach. Christ knows his sheep, and will deliver them from the jaws of the wolf. The joy of the hypocrites shall be but momentary: for the Lord will not give his glory to another. Have confidence therefore, brethren. The earth is Christ's, and the fulness thereof. Perhaps he has only removed you from your situation that you may reap a richer harvest.... We will however leave nothing untried to serve you: and in the mean time I doubt not that the Holy Spirit, displaying to you the glorious prize of victory, will comfort you with his unction, which we pray may be shed abundantly

upon you. Pray for me also: for we are often on the verge of the same danger with yourselves."

In the name of "the pastors of Basle to the pastors of Mulhausen," then unhappily at variance among themselves: November, 1529. "We exhort you, and in exhorting you exhort ourselves, to consider well in what a situation the Lord hath placed us; how many look up to us; how many eyes are upon us; what enemies we have; what numbers will reproach us even when we live ever so innocently; how tender the flock is which we are set to keep; and how many dangers on all sides surround us. It is not our own business which we have to conduct, but Christ's. It is no common business, but such as is of the highest concernment; that which he himself undertook, as the most important. Let us not underrate the service in which we are engaged. But we do even despise it, if we apply not to it with becoming gravity and purity. Not only do they corrupt the word of God, who intermix with it false doctrines, but they also who admit their own passions into their preaching; and, while they would draw odium upon their brethren, betray the envy which actuates their own minds. What place can there be for contention where nothing but the glory of Christ is sought in our preaching? Is any man wise? let him first be 'wise to himself.' Has he any thing to propose for the profit of the church? let him propose it without prejudice to a brother, who also faithfully labours in the same vineyard: lest, while he unseasonably and improperly sets himself to root up tares, (which yet may not be tares,) he destroy the wheat—not another's only but his own—or rather neither his nor another man's, but Christ's . . . If any thing of human infirmity therefore has crept in among us, we beseech you for Christ's sake, and for the sake of the service in which we are engaged, and by all that we hold sacred and dear, let us forgive one another, after his example who has forgiven us ten

thousand talents: let us hail one another, acknowledge one another, respect one another, as friends and fellow-labourers of Christ: and, if any thing occurs in our preaching which displeases any of us, do not let us presently contradict it before the people, but let us meet together, and examine the scriptures upon it, and consider the arguments on one side and on the other; and let him who is shewn from scripture to have been wrong yield to him who has convinced him, and return thanks for the light he has received. Where there is a humble heart, a spirit remote from pride; and when a man seeks to consecrate all his attainments to the glory of Christ and not to his own, this will be easy. For the source of envy is pride, which fears lest it should not be sufficiently honoured. He who thinks humbly of himself and honourably of his neighbour will be thankful that Christ should be preached, by whomsoever or on whatsoever occasion it may be."

We have seen that in the year 1530 Œcolampadius was commissioned to visit the churches of the canton of Basle, and to introduce such regulations as their state and the state of the clergy might seem to require.<sup>1</sup> In the following letter, we may be considered as possessing even a splendid illustration of the manner in which he discharged the delicate but important duties thus devolved upon him. It is addressed to seventeen ministers, by name, "his beloved brethren preaching the gospel in the territory of Basle," but of whom not more than one has ever before occurred to our notice; a circumstance which may tend to shew us how numerous reformed, and in the main faithful, ministers were now become.—"Grace and peace from God the Father, through Christ, in the Holy Spirit! Since in this life, dearly beloved brethren, in which we live in exile from home, and 'know but in part,' no one is so perfect that

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 198.



he may be not profited by brotherly exhortation and admonition, (for the wise 'hear and become wiser,') I assure myself that your charity will receive ~~this~~ friendly address with the same candour and kindness which dictate it. I have neither to lament over you nor to expostulate with you, as if I found you wanting in zeal or diligence in advancing the cause of the gospel: but, my deacon, Jerome Botanus, who lately visited you, and observed your life and conversation, having reported to me that all things are conducted among you in a becoming and Christian manner, I give thanks to our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath imbued you with such a spirit, that, while others feed themselves,<sup>1</sup> and, looking to the favour of the world, take little care either for their own souls or for the souls committed to them, you choose rather to live in the house of God, despised by men, but guiding the sheep of Christ to the wholesome pastures of eternal life, than to be honoured in the courts of this world. And I not only give thanks at seeing you endued with this pious temper of mind, but with the most ardent desires of my inmost soul I pray the Author of this gift, the Father of our Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ, that he will continue henceforward so to enlighten our hearts with faith, to confirm them with hope, to inflame them with love, and to adorn them with the garments of meekness, patience, peace, justice, innocence, and all virtues, that it may become evident from all our conduct, that we seek not our own glory but the glory of Jesus Christ; that we desire not the riches of this world, but heavenly treasures; and that nothing therefore lies nearer to our hearts than the salvation of souls. And I ask these things with a blessed confidence, not doubting that the Spirit of Christ does continually call these graces into existence and exercise in your minds, and that he will happily perfect them.—But, stimu-

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxxiv. 1.

lated by the charity which he inspires, I also beg that we may be ever mindful of those things which Christ requires of us, proposing to such as yield them the highest rewards, but threatening to those who neglect them the severest punishments. His words, beloved brethren, ought evermore to sound in our ears, when we walk by the way and when we sit in the house: those words, for instance, which he hath directed against the servant that buries his talent; against the tree which bringeth not forth good fruit; against the husbandmen who render not the fruits in their season; against the scribes who, having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, neither enter in themselves nor suffer others to enter in; against the unwatchful servant; against false prophets; and against foolish pastors.<sup>1</sup> Justly may his thunders terrify us; lest we become 'salt that hath lost its savour;' 'a blind eye;' 'clouds without water;' 'raging waves of the sea;' 'spots' and stains in the church; 'dogs' and 'deceitful workers;' and incur the other reproaches with which they are branded who desert their proper office and duty. In the first place, therefore, let us be careful to order our *lives* aright. Let the eye of the mind be single and true: so that we may have nothing more at heart than to live soberly, justly, innocently, and in a becoming manner, to the glory of God, our heavenly Father. For how shall we raise others out of the pollutions of this world, if we ourselves are sunk in them? Can the flock be expected to go where the shepherd does not lead the way? Will they regard his word more than his example? It would be surprising if they did, since the life of a teacher, not corresponding with his instructions, destroys their effect.—Or how shall the building advance, if while we raise it with one hand we throw it down with the other? What crooked rod ever gave a

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xiii. 3.

straight shadow? Let us be 'unreprovable,' as the apostle's word is. The world has its eyes upon us, and nothing is so frequently in its mouth as the inquiry, Where are their works which should induce us to believe them? Though we do not preach ourselves but Christ, to whom all ought to have regard; yet the world regards *us*, watches *us*; and, while it covers the 'beams' of others, knows not how sufficiently to magnify even our 'motes.' You see how many mass-priests live in luxury—are fornicators; gamesters, blasphemers, gluttons, yes, and usurers and soldiers too; while, if *we* offend only in a word, if we fail to observe human traditions, even such as are mischievous, if we yield to necessity, we are in danger of our lives. We have need therefore of prudence.—But who is prudent except he that walks in the fear of the Lord, which is 'the beginning of wisdom?' Who proceeds successfully but he that patiently takes up his cross, and follows a Saviour who was full of charity, humility, and meekness? Let us but love Christ, and we shall love his humility, his patience, his charity. A blameless life carries its own reward along with it. Temperance prolongs life; uprightness provides the feast of a good conscience; glorifying God through Jesus Christ leads to eternal life. It were madness to abandon these blessings, to turn back to darkness. We cannot deny that they who will live godly must encounter difficulties and persecutions: yet Christ has granted us many indulgences. He approves of virtuous marriage: and, though we are not to study the gratification of our appetites in meats and drinks, yet no superstitious abstinence from this or the other of them is enjoined. 'Having food and raiment let us be therewith content.' Let our tongue be true in what it teaches, kind in administering consolation, grave in admonition, restrained alike from flattery and from detraction. If truth has possession of *our hearts*, our lips will easily be restrained from

uttering vanity. Let deceit be left to hypocrites, but let unaffected simplicity adorn and commend us, or rather I should say commend the word of God delivered by us; and what our words cannot effect let the piety of our lives accomplish.—The next thing will be, that with unfailing faithfulness and constancy we sound forth *the gospel*—‘the mystery hidden from ages:’ namely that, by Jesus Christ the Son of God dying for us, remission of sins has been procured for the world. Be this our wisdom, ‘to preach Christ crucified.’ To this point let all our discourses tend, to set forth these riches and this glory of the love of God towards us. For what more could the Father of mercies do for us, than to give his only-begotten Son for our salvation? What has he not with him freely given us? What shall we not obtain through his Son? What forbearance and forgiveness will he not exercise towards us? With the net of this doctrine we shall become ‘fishers of men;’ and draw them as willing servants to Christ: for the hearts of sinners, burdened with the chains of their sins, and harassed by cruel tyrants, gasp after peace and liberty. Thus shall we implant in them faith, which ‘worketh by love’ to produce really good works. For we do not preach Christ as having *so* died for our sins, as to leave us at liberty to live in them; but on the contrary, as having *so* redeemed us that we should no more yield ourselves to bondage; but rather ‘die to sin,’ and ‘putting on the new man’ live, not like the first Adam, who by his disobedience forfeited life and brought in death both to himself and to us, but like Christ, the second Adam, who by his obedience unto death restored us to life, and, becoming ‘the first-begotten from the dead,’ gave to us the assured hope of the resurrection, and of future glory and immortality. Hence comes that blessed liberty of spirit by which we recognise God as our Father, love him whom we thus recognise, confide in him whom we thus love, and call on him

in whom we thus confide, boldly 'crying, Abba; Father.'—Such is our case; since the First-born, by whom we live, is his Son and our Brother, who having been given to us, there is nothing which we may not promise ourselves from his kindness and good will. Hell therefore is to us a vanquished enemy; death is abolished; the sting of the law is extracted. Heaven is ours; the earth is our's; and our's the very fulness of the heavens. It is no matter of wonder therefore if angels and ministering spirits serve us, though we be the 'offscouring of this world'—which 'is crucified to us, and we to it.' Willingly shall we for a little space be deprived of carnal liberty, and enjoy the liberty of the Spirit: willingly shall we deny ourselves the indulgences of this life, knowing that the kingdom of God consists not in these external things—though we also know that, being 'received with thanksgiving,' they are 'clean unto us:' for we suffer not our consciences to be enthralled either to Mosaic or Pharisaic ordinances.—So great blessings does the gospel bring to us, if it be received with a believing heart.—In the mean time the law of God, as explained by Christ himself, must be inculcated, in season and out of season, on the wicked. Whatever is contrary to Christ must be reprov'd and expos'd. Christ is not hypocrisy, he is not falsehood, he is not hatred, he is not injustice: he is peace, truth, righteousness. Nothing is to be omitted which conduces to edification. We are not to flatter any one, nor accept any one's person: for the Lord is the object of our fear; not an arm of flesh, nor the bulls of the pope. Heaven and hell are not at the disposal of an earthly potentate: but Christ threatens the one to the negligent, and promises the other to the faithful.—But let us by all means beware of adulterating the word of God. Let us religiously abstain from adding to it, or subtracting any thing from it. Let it be to us 'a light in a dark place:' and according to it let us teach

and judge. If difficulties occur, let us not deviate a hair's breadth from the rule of faith and charity—lest we 'make shipwreck.' By this criterion let us receive or reject the traditions of men: for that which leads us away from faith or charity is justly distrusted; but where these remain untouched no danger exists, even though the genuine sense of scripture should not in every particular be rightly apprehended. On such points therefore let us not dispute and break charity; for that is the part of pride and arrogance. Where kindness may have place, let us not admit severity. Let our zeal burn, not when reproaches are cast upon us, but when truth is endangered, and the name of God blasphemed. If our enemies curse us, let us not imitate them; but comfort ourselves with the testimony of our conscience: and let the scriptures bear witness to the truth, and justify us by sanctioning our doctrines.—Let us be willing also to leave some things to the decision of the great day of the Lord. Let us not, brethren, faint under the calumnies cast upon us. If the Master of the house was charged with casting out devils by Beelzebub, what wonder if we his unworthy servants be not spared? 'The disciple is not above his Lord.' So far from fainting, the more vehemently Satan opposes, the more zealously let us strive against him."

He then proceeds to treat of ceremonies, (in which he could wish for uniformity, yet would have "no man forced to it by any legal enactment;") and on the opposition which they had to encounter from the anabaptists, from the Lutherans on the sacrament, and from the papists. After which he thus concludes: "Surrounded therefore with so many enemies, let us remember to whom we bear testimony, and let us seek the truth above all things. Having put our hand to the plough, let us not look back, but persevere to the end. Let us cherish concord with the greatest care, and whatever pertains to charity.

I could wish you frequently to meet together, and mutually to admonish one another. And here let brotherly reproof be received even with the sincerest gratitude; though I would have you study to live so blamelessly that no one of you may find any thing to censure in another. As however we are human beings, we shall stand in need of admonition. Sometimes we are too anxious about the things of this world: I wish I could say, not even covetous. Now we are lukewarm assertors of the cause of Christ: I wish we may not sometimes be found to desert it. Now we are more disposed to pamper the body than to feed the soul: now we are too little grave and circumspect in our discourse. And all these things dishonour the word of God, though we are backward to detect them in ourselves. Charity therefore will find its work to perform when you meet. Search the scriptures together; and let the more learned faithfully instruct those who are less informed; and these with equal readiness listen to instruction: for all have not equal measures of grace (or gifts).—If the Lord has granted to my colleagues and myself any spiritual endowments, and you consult us on any occasion, we shall afford you our assistance with the utmost cheerfulness; and we beseech you regard us as true brothers, praying for us, as we promise to do for you. For there is no one thing so necessary amidst the dangers, snares, plots, and persecutions, with which we are surrounded, as sincere prayer that God would ‘bruise Satan under our feet;’ irradiate the whole world with the light of his truth; and himself reign gloriously for ever. Amen!”

We have here a specimen of genuine episcopacy, and the style of a true “Father in God,” though without the name. May the great Head of the church grant unto all “Christian bishops” to administer their high functions in the spirit here exhibited!

Another letter to an anonymous brother, and of an uncertain date, exhibits a further specimen of the

writer's spirit, and admirably illustrates the temper and conduct which become a Christian minister.

“Peace to you in Christ! My first inquiry of our common friend concerning you respected your meekness and gentleness—than which nothing is more becoming a Christian, and especially a Christian minister. He extolled your unwearied diligence, your burning zeal, and your good success on the whole: but he added, that you poured forth torrents of reproaches against the mass-priests. I am not ignorant what they deserve, and in what colours they may justly be painted: but allow me to say, in the character of one friend and brother addressing another, that you do not seem here fully to remember your proper calling. You are sent to preach the gospel, not to utter maledictions. Surgeons, it is true, apply the knife where gentler remedies fail: yet not where there is no hope of cure. Michael the archangel durst not bring railing accusation even against the devil. Your zeal seems to carry you into some forgetfulness of our common infirmity. All have not entered even into that corrupt priesthood with a malignant mind: but many through ignorance; many by the designation of their parents; many from want; many allured by the attractions of the office; many from superstition. They have not indeed ‘entered by the door,’ but they have not (all of them) the temper and purpose of thieves and robbers. —It is true, you will not gain to Christ Ananias and Sapphira, who ‘resist the Holy Ghost:’ leave *them* to themselves; but consider the infirmity of others. I am not satisfied with your shewing yourself kind to the friends of the truth: aim to win over its enemies. There is no creature so abject as not to be susceptible of irritation. Generous minds confine anger to just occasions. We know the vehemence of Elijah: but think in what times he lived: and it burst forth only on one or two occasions. Does it not appear to you *to be carnal to spend a large proportion of life in*



giving vent to reproaches? . . . Consider whether Christ would act thus; and do what Christ living in you would dictate. Learn from him mildness and humility. I excuse, nay I commend your zeal; only let it be tempered with meekness. If the wolves are driven away from the fold, let the sheep hear the voice of the shepherd and be fed. They are only alarmed, and are endangered rather than fed, while you pursue the wolves with imprecations. Refresh my spirit, my brother, by letting me hear that you seasonably pour in the oil and wine: that you act the evangelist and not the severe legislator.—You will allow this freedom of admonition to a mind which is full of affection for you, and implores that God would effect great things by you. . . . I should scarcely think it possible for you as yet to obtain the abolition of the mass. Guard against rash haste. ‘Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.’ Aim to expel Antichrist from the hearts of men.”

The following letter to Leo Jude, in reply to an invitation conveyed through him to the writer, to become the successor of Zwingle at Zurich, must have been among the latest productions of Ecolampadius’s pen, as it is dated the first of November, (1531,) and his death took place, after a severe illness, on the first of the following month. It still displays his excellent spirit, and strikingly shews his opinion of needless removals and interested translations of the clergy.

“Health to you in Christ! The proposal and request which you communicate to me in the name of your venerable college (or consistory) were most unexpected. But, though my love to your church is such that, if I were to change my situation, there is scarcely a place in the world where I would more willingly become, not (as you propose,) pastor, but the humblest of its ministers; yet, as things are now situate with respect to myself and the church of

Basle, I see not with what conscience I could for a moment entertain the thought of leaving this city. It is not only a long-established opinion, but a sentiment confirmed by the constitutions of the church, that little confidence is to be placed in those who desert their own charges, to preside over others. Such in fact are generally found unserviceable men. For what good man will not reason thus concerning them: 'If this man had been content with a moderate provision, and unambitious, he would not have forsaken his own flock. How shall he, who rashly relinquishes the care of his own household, administer well the affairs of another man's?' In a minister of God's word, much depends on his weight of character. An inconstant man will never firmly attach people to him; he is in danger of drawing ridicule upon himself, as one that sits down between two chairs. I cannot dissemble that there are many things in my own church which are painful to me: I know that I am obnoxious to many persons of consequence: I know how little success attends me among a great part of my people: but these things must be borne rather than violently thrown off. If on account of them I quit my post, I shall, in the first place, have reason to fear the displeasure of God for refusing to bear the cross which he lays upon me; and, in the next place, I may expect to bring upon myself, instead of one light burden, many that may be much heavier. I have found this heretofore, and should most assuredly find it again if I were to comply with your solicitations.—Moreover a wise man will consider what he is equal to. I almost sink under my present charge: what folly then would it be to thrust myself into one of still greater responsibility! Perhaps indeed I should little offend against my own church, which might find a more competent pastor; but then I should injure your's, by undertaking the care of it without the requisite qualifications. Or grant that I should be found qualified, and thus not prejudice

your church; then I should be criminal with regard to my own, to which I am already devoted, which I have encountered dangers with me more than once, and on the whole has not proved ungrateful to me. God forbid that I should be the first party to incur the reproach of ingratitude. If indeed she should prove ungrateful and cast me off, then I must go where God may call me: but at present it is my duty to serve the city in which I am placed.—I return my best thanks to your whole ecclesiastical senate for its great kindness to me, in thinking me worthy of its general suffrage for the office of pastor. Such men could not have erred in their choice, had not their judgments been warped by the excess of kindness. I most humbly entreat them therefore to view favourably my declining the high honour they would confer upon me. But really if they would give me two thousand crowns (aureos) a year, my conscience would not suffer me to comply with their request; whereas, if it did not forbid me, I would come, and even sue for the situation, with the smallest stipend attached to it.—Collinus truly tells you that your habits and manners at Zurich would not be displeasing to me: but we must not always grasp at what pleases us. In all other things you shall find me faithful and devoted to your service. Christ is my witness how mindful I am of you night and day in the present emergency. I beseech him to send you a truly faithful and able pastor: and, if he sees that I should really be profitable among you, may he still drive me to you, as he drove Jonah and Paul<sup>1</sup> to the work to which they were reluctant.”

We shall conclude these specimens of Œcolampadius's epistles with a correspondence which took place between him and certain deputies from the Waldenses of Provence and some neighbouring parts who visited Berne, Basle, and Strasburg in 1534

<sup>1</sup> Acts xxii. 18—21.

for the purpose of conferring with the leading reformers in those places. The deputies were George Maurel, a minister, and Peter Latomus, or, as he is called by others, Masson. Their mission and the following address of Maurel to Ecolampadius shew both the pious simplicity of those people who had been the witnesses for Christ through the dark ages, and the sentiments with which they regarded the light of the reformation which had now risen upon the world.

"Hail, blessed Ecolampadius! Having heard from many quarters, that He, who can do all things, has endued you with the blessing of his Spirit, (as may easily be known from its fruits,) we have come, with ardent joy, from a distant country, hoping, and firmly confiding, that the same Spirit will, by your means, enlighten us, and unfold many things, which hitherto, through our ignorance and dulness, appear doubtful, or are altogether unknown to us; and *that*, I much fear, to the great injury of ourselves, and of the people who are placed under such incompetent teachers.—That you may understand the case, we inform you, that, such as we are, we are the instructors of a poor and feeble people, who, for more than four hundred years past, nay, as is often said amongst ourselves, from the very time of the apostles, have dwelt among the thorns, yet (as pious persons have readily perceived,) have not been left without the special favour of Christ; through which, though often pierced and tortured, we have still been delivered. In order therefore that you may advise and strengthen us poor people, (for a brother assisted by a brother is like a strong tower,) hear, if you please, our customs, and the order observed amongst us who are ministers."

He then describes the admission of those who were candidates for the ministry, on their own application, first made to the ministers, and then by them announced to the assembled brethren. "Those who

are approved have a place assigned them for receiving instruction; for almost all of them come from the care of cattle, or from agriculture, have attained the age of twenty-five or thirty years, and are destitute of learning. Trial is made of them for three or four years, during two or three of the winter months only. They learn to read and write, and commit to memory the whole of S. Matthew's and S. John's Gospels, the Catholic Epistles, and a considerable part of those of S. Paul. . . . After this, if still approved, they are admitted to the office of presbyters and preachers, by the sacrament of the eucharist and the imposition of hands; and are sent forth to preach, by two and two. Those who have been longer in orders have always a precedence and preeminence over those more lately ordained."—Their ministers all lived unmarried. They were supported by the voluntary contributions of the people which formed a common fund for their maintenance. They practised handicraft trades, partly for the convenience of the people, and partly to avoid idleness but this was carried so far as to obstruct their obtaining an adequate skill in the holy scriptures.—They had frequent times of prayer, sometimes by night as well as by day; and they generally use the Lord's prayer before meat. They guarded, however, against superstition in adherence to particular times and forms.—All their ministers met together once a year for consultation on their affairs, and to arrange their respective circuits; for they continue no more than two or three years in a place, except their old men, who were allowed to be stationary. On these occasions, before they separated, they mutually asked forgiveness of all offences. When any of their number fell into scandalous sin, he was separated from their company, forbidden to preach, and required to support himself by his own labour. But on this point advice was now particularly requested. "Such," says Maurel, "are the regulations respec-

our ministers; which I have been convinced, my arrival in this country, much need your ious correction."

en follows an account of the articles of their , including the Trinity, the divinity and in- tion of Christ, and redemption. Sacraments held to be only " visible signs of an invisible ,," beneficial to the faithful, but not essential to tion. " Here," he says, " I understand that we erred, in admitting more sacraments than two." firmly rejected every other intercessor than t; and held purgatory to be altogether a fiction tichrist. They thought private confession use- but only for the sake of obtaining counsel and tance, and that set times were not to be pre- ded for it. They condemned all human inven- in religion, particularly the popish distinctions ys and of meats, and, above all, the mass. The sters, besides attending the sick, visited all their le, in their various stations, once a year, heard confessions, and gave them suitable admoni- . In preaching, the two associate ministers sat her, and first the senior spoke, then the younger. ng no magistrates of their own, but being sub- to " them that believed not," they exhorted the le to choose competent persons to act as arbitra- and peace-makers among them. Such as obsti- ly disobeyed admonition, they excluded from intercourse, and from hearing the word, that might be ashamed; for, without the latter inter- on, they found excommunication disregarded by y. They did not administer the sacraments to people: these were received from " the mem- of Antichrist"—the popish priests. They in- ted them, however, in the nature of the sacra- ts, and warned them against trusting in anti- tian ceremonies, and to entreat that it might not mputed to them, if they were forced to see and such abominations—which they prayed might

come to an end, and the truth and word of God run and be glorified. They forbade their people the use of oaths, dancings, and all kinds of sports, except practising with the bow or other weapons: also of foolish and wanton songs; and of the studied ornaments of dress.—Their people were much scattered by persecution, and lived dispersed over an extent of eight hundred miles: yet scarcely any left them or incurred suspension among them.

He then enumerates twelve points on which they felt great hesitation—1. Whether among their ministers there ought to be different orders, as bishops, priests, and deacons: “for these seemed to be prescribed by the apostle to Timothy and Titus... These different ranks, however, did not exist among them.”<sup>1</sup> 2. Whether capital punishment should be allowed. 3. Whether civil government were an ordinance of God. 4. Whether they should advise their people to put to death treacherous pretended brethren, who frequently insinuated themselves among them, and then betrayed them to the bishops, monks, and civil governors; in consequence of which the ministers, and sometimes many of the people were committed to the flames. 5. Whether, on any occasion, they might have recourse to the tribunal of “them that believed not?” 6. The proper line in which inheritances should descend. 7. Whether making interest of money, and the taking of oaths were unlawful. 8. Whether the doctrine of sins “original, venial, mortal, and of ignorance,” were well founded? 9. Whether they ought to mourn for the dead? 10. Whether all infants were in a state of salvation, and all grown persons, without faith in Christ, the contrary? 11. Whether vows of celibacy were to be admitted, and what were the degrees of consanguinity within which marriage was prohibited. 12. “Lastly,” says the writer, “nothing more disturbs us weak people, though I am con-

<sup>1</sup> This is contrary to Mosheim's account of the Waldenses.

sious it is through our ignorance, than what I have heard and read, from the writings of Luther, concerning freewill, and the divine predestination. For our belief was, that all men are naturally endued by God with some portion of virtue, which in one man is more, in another less; . . . by means of which, under the incitement of God, they may effect somewhat; according to that passage, 'Behold I stand at the door and knock;' and that he who will not, by the virtue thus implanted and excited in him, 'open the door,' will at last receive according to his works. If it be not so, I see not, as Erasmus argues, how so many precepts of scripture, both affirmative and negative, are to be understood.—With respect to predestination our belief was, that the Almighty from eternity foreknew who would be saved, and who not; yet that he made every man for eternal life; and that the reprobate become such by their own fault, because they would not obey the commandments. But, if all things happen necessarily, as Luther affirms, and those who are predestinated to life cannot fail, and the contrary; to what purpose are the scriptures, preachers, or even physicians for the body? for all their efforts will make no difference in the event."

"You will be pleased also to inform us, what precepts are ceremonial and judicial, and whether these have become obsolete by the coming of Christ: whether allegorical senses of scripture are to be admitted, and what are the canonical books: and what mode of instructing the people we should adopt. In all things, we hope, and trust, and earnestly desire, to be enlightened and directed by the Holy Spirit, through your instrumentality; for we long that you should be the pastor of our sheep, even as you are of your own flock. There is one shepherd and one fold. . . . Oh that we were all firmly united one with another, and that we could conduct every thing, as we have great need to do, by your



counsel, and that of men like you! In all (main) points, however, we agree with you; and from the time of the apostles have thought as you do concerning the faith; differing in this alone, that, by our own fault, and the dulness of our apprehensions, we have by no means so just an understanding of the scriptures as you have. We come therefore to you to be directed, instructed, and edified. We are all worshippers of the same God!"

To this humble pious application Œcolampadius made the following wise and faithful reply.

"Œcolampadius to our beloved brethren in Christ, grace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit. We have learned, with great joy in Christ, from your faithful pastor, George Maurel, the particulars of your faith, and of your religious observances: and we give thanks to our heavenly Father, who hath called you into such blessed light, at a time when almost all the world is involved in the deepest darkness through the power of Antichrist. We recognize therefore the grace of Christ in you, and for the sake of it love you as brethren. Would that we could worthily declare the affection of our hearts towards you! What should we not be ready to do for this purpose, however difficult!

"Now we have somewhat to address to you with brotherly zeal: and we pray you to consider it not as dictated with imperious pride, but suggested with friendly compassion.—The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has endued you with the knowledge of his truth, and with spiritual benediction above many: but, if you cease not to be grateful, he is still rich, and can enrich you with greater treasures, and make you perfect, that you may 'grow up into the measure of the stature of Christ.'—While however there are many things which we commend in you, there are also many which we could wish to see improved. You know, that 'with the heart man believeth unto

righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation;’ but that those who are ashamed to confess Christ before the world will hereafter not be acknowledged by his Father. As our God is truth, so he willet them that serve him to do it without all shadow of dissimulation. He is jealous, and suffers not that his servants should draw in the yoke with Antichrist. He has no part with Belial, and with darkness. Now we learn, that, through fear of persecution, you so dissemble your faith, and conceal it, as to communicate with the unbelievers, and to partake in the abominations of their masses; in which you are aware that the death and passion of Christ are blasphemed. For, while they boast that by their sacrifices they make satisfaction for the sins of the living and the dead, what follows, but that Christ has *not* made satisfaction by once dying for us? and that Christ is not our Saviour, but, in a manner, suffered in vain for us? Now, if we partake of such a polluted table, we proclaim ourselves one body with the impious, though we may do it with grief of heart: and, adding our Amen to their prayers, do we not deny Christ? What form of death ought we not to prefer before this? what suffering not to endure? nay, what infernal pit not to enter into, rather than sanction, contrary to our consciences, the impieties of blasphemers? I am sensible of your weakness: but you ought to be stronger, who know that you are redeemed by the blood of Christ. He is more to be feared, who is ‘able to destroy both body and soul in hell.’ Why are we so anxious for our lives? Shall they be more precious to us than Christ? Shall we be content with the allurements of this life, and not hasten to eternal joys? Crowns are held out to us, shall we avert our eyes from them? Who will believe our faith true, if it fail in the hour of persecution? We pray that the Lord may increase your faith? We, for our parts, would rather die than be

overcome by this temptation. We exhort you, brethren, to weigh the subject more seriously. For, if we may conceal our faith under the reign of Antichrist, then may we also under the Turk: and under Diocletian we might have worshipped at the altars of Jupiter or Venus. Then might Tobias have worshipped the calf at Bethel. What then becomes of our trust in God? But I fear, lest, if we honour not God as our duty requires, our whole life should become leavened with insincerity, and we should be altogether rejected of God as 'lukewarm.' How shall we 'glory in the cross of Christ,' if we glorify him not, for fear of tribulation? Oh, brethren, we must not look back! we must not listen to the voice of our treacherous companion the flesh! which, though it may bear many things, yet makes shipwreck at the mouth of the harbour.

"The doctrines of your brotherhood were before known to us, from your answer, many years back, to Ladislaus, king of Hungary. In the things which relate to the Saviour, they are evidently those of the universal church, and are the same which we also hold."—He then recites the principal articles of the Apostles' Creed; and proceeds: "Concerning the sacred symbols also, our sentiments correspond with your's. . . . We do not approve of rebaptizing those who have been baptized by the papists, as is the practice of the anabaptists. . . . We know of no other intercessor than Christ. Human inventions, by which the conscience may be ensnared, and spiritual liberty prejudiced, we abhor as antichristian. We obey the magistrate, in things which are not contrary to the command of God. We honour him also: and we do not refuse the sanction of an oath, when he requires it, notwithstanding what we read in St. Matthew; for Christ there prohibited nothing which is not sinful in itself: and Jehovah himself sware; and so did Abraham and Paul, and were blameless.—In like manner, we do not condemn, as usury, all making

t of money. . . . We do not think it contrary divine law for the magistrate to punish with ord. . . . We do not say that the judicial laws (see) are abolished, as far as the *spirit* of them the ceremonial are so, as shadows of which we the substance, even Christ and the rights of faith.

With respect to your ministers, we commend not admitting any but persons of a proper age approved character: but allow me to suggest, they appear to be sometimes more employed in labours than is necessary, and spend in such the time which ought to be given to study. Labour of the hands is holy, but much more so ministry of the word. The apostles would not be idle, lest it should interfere with the duties of their sacred calling. Paul commands Timothy, 'thyself to reading.' We are not to tempt as if he were to be expected to instruct us, as the apostles, miraculously, without study on their part. We do not, however, exhort them to superfluous philosophical, secular studies: the Old and New Testaments will find them employment enough. Their labour: it does not seem agreeable to the intention of the apostles, that you should remove your ministers every three years. There is a difference between apostles (or missionaries) and pastors. The apostles are 'sent forth;' but bishops and pastors remain with their flocks: although they might advantageously be appointed visitors for the laity.—Nor do we approve the injunction of celibacy. . . . It is not marriage that spoils priests, but sloth, self-indulgence, and the fear of the world. . . . In like manner of monastic vows.—Finally, let among Christian ministers titles and degrees safely be dispensed with, which too much remind of popish pomp and pride, yet let there be those who preside, and those who are subordinate; let there be inspectors or bishops; let there

be preachers; and let there be those who are yet in training.

"Concerning the mode of instructing the people, it is not for us to prescribe. Only let those things be taught which conduce to faith and love, and let them be adorned by humility and endurance of the cross. Let things unrevealed be avoided; with contentious and curious questions, which gender pride, and strife, and hatred. Let the one object be, to set forth the glory of Christ, to produce a holy life, and to banish vice, hypocrisy, and spiritual pride, the source of heresies, and of perdition to numbers.

"The books of the Apocrypha," he says, "we do not despise, but we do not allow them divine authority like the others.—Allegories, founded on scripture, agreeable to the analogy of faith, and not lowering the dignity of the sacred writings, we admit: but they are not to be invented according to the dreams of every one.—All that doctrine which magnifies the grace of Christ we willingly embrace. Freewill, as far as it derogates from grace, we do not approve. Yet we do not by this introduce a necessity of sinning: for they who sin do it voluntarily, and of their own accord. Original sin has its own proper province (*suam rationem*). Our virtue is not the greater because of many *commands* being delivered to us; but great is the power of the Spirit, by which we perform the will of God: great also our backwardness, on account of which we are adjudged unworthy. There is such a thing as *necessity* with God, which is immutable, though all things appear to you uncertain. But you are not called to attend to 'the secret things' of God, but to his word, which we ought to believe, and by which we shall then be saved.—We cannot deny predestination: and that it cannot fail is most certain: but what then? is God unjust? is he untrue? Let us humble ourselves before his majesty, which abases the proud, while his mercy encourages the contrite in heart, who seek

from him alone, and not from the flesh and own will; that in all things the praise may be.—What have *we* to do with the contentions Erasmus and Luther?—*Our perdition is from us; our salvation only from the Lord our God.*

Therefore, my brethren, since you have received the Lord so precious a talent, go on and look ask: give glory to God by living righteously, yes, and piously. Let not the flesh prevail, to destruction, but let it be subdued, to his glory. If we lose our life here for Christ, we shall be in the resurrection of the just to eternal life—which, may it be granted to us all by the grace of Christ!

Intreat you not to despise this brotherly admonition: for I would not speak or write any thing which I thought Christ would disapprove. Our beloved and much to be respected brother in Christ, Pierre Maurel, will relate to you other things by word of mouth.—Intreat God on behalf of us and the church: and we also will be mindful of you in prayer."

Erasmus wrote four days after to Bucer, informing his visitors, who were proceeding to Burgundy: "You will be visited by the Waldenses, singularly pious men, who wish to hear your sentences on certain points. They will shew you the things which I have given them. That you may not waste time, read what I have written, and either give better counsel, or sanction mine; that so they depart in peace, and commence their reformation. You will receive them with the kindness which is due to you: but, if through the pressure of business you cannot enter into the subject, desire Capito to undertake it."

The result of these communications appears to have been highly gratifying, except as it was connected with further sufferings on the part of this persecuted people of God.—Latomus was seized,

on his way home, at Dijon, and thrown into prison. Maurel reached Merindol, in Provence, in safety, with the books and papers which he had brought from the German churches. He informed the people of all that had passed, and publicly declared "the many errors into which they had fallen." In consequence, so earnest a zeal for reforming their church was excited, that they sent for some of their older and more experienced brethren from Calabria and Apulia to consult with them on the subject: but, this coming to be known, the governor and the clergy raised fresh persecutions against them, which was continued till the death of Francis I, in the year 1547.

III. We proceed, lastly, to notice some of Zwingle's published works. Those which I select are, his Commentary of true and false Religion—his short Introduction to the Evangelical Doctrine, written for the pastors of the canton of Zurich—and his tract on the Providence of God. I select the first as his principal work, at least, of a more general kind; the second as exhibiting one of the most pleasing and edifying specimens of his theology; and the third as illustrating his sentiments on certain high and difficult points.

(1.) The "Commentary of true and false Religion" has been already mentioned, at the period of its publication in the year 1525, and a short character of it given from Dr. Milner.<sup>1</sup> A larger proportion of the work than I had expected is employed on the controversies of the times: but the following selections or abstracts will not be uninteresting.

In speaking of the first great topic, God himself, he observes, Religion implies *the knowledge of God and the knowledge of man*. Of the former he treats in that elevated style which might be expected from his pious and richly furnished mind. This knowledge can be derived only from God himself: and faith in

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 111, 112.

the breasts of those to whom revelation is vouchsafed must be his gift. "Believers are not *therefore* believers, because they hear Moses, for instance, pronounce, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth;' but because they are taught this truth by God himself, through the medium of his word. Of him only it comes that we both really believe his existence and trust in him."—He strikingly illustrates the divine name, "I am that I am," or, as the Septuagint renders it, "I am he that existeth:" considering it as implying, not only the self-existence of God, but that he is "the source, the support, and we might say the essence, of all being." But we select the following passage on God's "dwelling in the midst" of his people, as he declared that he did with Israel. "What else is it for God to dwell in the midst of his people, but for him to be so present with them as to be ever at hand to help them? The expression is most familiar and condescending; it represents the Most High as making himself almost one of their number; so that none of them need fear being looked down upon as disregarded by him. What other testimonies should I adduce from the New Testament in proof of his so dwelling with us, than HIM who is himself the Testament, the Covenant, even Jesus Christ, at once the Son of God and the Son of the Virgin? By him, when we were 'by nature the children of wrath,' God, the rich fountain of mercy, restored us to his favour. Him he hath constituted our propitiator, that they who trust in his blood may be reputed holy and without spot in his sight. *He* then is our propitiation, and consequently our covenant which God hath ratified with us. By him we have unrestrained access to God.—Moreover whatever Christ is to us he is by the *free gift* of God. We have never merited that God should sacrifice his Son for our life. Had it been possible that life should have been granted to our merits, Christ would have been superfluous to us: and, had

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there been no need of him, would the Father ever have given him to take our flesh? Oh this is no superfluous, no vain, no unnecessary work of God: but the Son of God came 'that we might have life, and might have it most abundantly.' Thus Christ, that he might exhibit his whole self to us, cries, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' Gracious God! what is liberality, what is bounty, if this is not? Evils of every kind, internal and external beset us<sup>1</sup> on every side, so that they must otherwise overwhelm us. The Son of God sees our calamitous state, and calls us all unto himself. And, that no one's consciousness of guilt may deter him from coming without delay, he says expressly, ALL, and 'ye that labour,' and 'ye that are heavy-laden;' for he came for this very purpose, 'to save sinners,' and that 'freely.'

(2.) *Of Man.*—"To attain the knowledge of man is as difficult as (according to a proverbial saying,) to take the cuttle-fish. For, as that animal is said effectually to conceal itself from its pursuers by a black fluid which it sheds around it, so man, as soon as he perceives his own character to be the subject of investigation, shrouds himself in such thick clouds of hypocrisy, that it is impossible for a created eye to detect him. And so the prophet affirms: 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?' For instance, if you assert that the prophet in this passage declares the heart of man to be depraved, that heart immediately devises the evasions, that *depraved* here means only *propense* to depravity, and that the declaration does not apply to *all*; meaning, when it thinks these positions once established, to assume that it is itself free from depravity, and to prove it from the honest constancy it has shewn in the defence of injured human nature! Indeed the resources of self-love

<sup>1</sup> "Scatemus;" spring, bubble up within and around us.

are so inexhaustible that few, or rather none, can arrive at a full knowledge of themselves. God therefore, alone, who made man, can give the right knowledge of man."

He then states, with entire simplicity, the history of the fall. The death which Adam immediately incurred was, he says, "that of the soul;" a moral death; "sin," or a state of sin; depravity, bringing on, in time, his temporal death. Inordinate self-love, independence of God, setting up for himself, aiming to live to and for himself, and according to his own will alone—these, he says, are the essence of the fall of man, and the death which he at once incurred.—"But let us hear," he proceeds, "the testimonies of scripture. 'My Spirit shall not always abide<sup>1</sup> with man, for that he also is flesh.' God here casts off man as degenerate—because he is become altogether flesh. He had testified the same before, when he rejected him as a spurious offspring, excluding him from the garden of Eden. But, if man is become altogether flesh, what else does he mind than carnal things? And, if so, what is he but the enemy of God? (Romans viii. 6, 7.) . . . . Again: 'Every imagination of his heart is only evil continually.' Here it is affirmed that every human thought is not only propense to evil, but intent and fixed upon it, and that at all times."—He then adduces other scriptural testimonies: after which he proceeds: "Adam then being dead (in sin), they who spring from him must be the same. He could never propagate an offspring free from that death which he had himself suffered: for it is unchangeably true, that 'that which is born of the flesh is flesh.' And *flesh* here means, not the body as distinguished from the mind, but the whole man, composed of both body and soul. . . . . If we will believe Him from whom no secrets are hid, we shall clearly perceive that

<sup>1</sup> "Permanebit,"

man, however he may strive to conceal it, or may fight against the humbling truth, is by nature evil... But, as we before said that faith alone could bring us the knowledge of God, so here, without that faith which believeth every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, man will be as far removed from the knowledge of himself as the flesh is from the spirit. . . . False theologues, satisfying themselves with allowing that man is *prone* to evil, yet attribute to him a sound power of discriminating good and evil, and of freely applying himself to either the one or the other of them : but this is only to twist a rope of sand, or to convert Belial into an angel. But, as nothing can form sand into a rope, so Belial, and so man cannot be made an angel of light—he, who is darkness, and the author of lies, deceit, and sin.”

He then cites, in illustration of his doctrine, a passage of Cicero for the poet Archias, in which the orator traces all the exertions of great and generous minds to “the love of glory”—though he would elsewhere, inconsistently with this, refer them to zeal for the public good. But this active and ever-present principle of self-exaltation Zwingle finds to be no other than that which he had laid down as the very essence of the fall, and what “the faithful (or believers) know to be nothing but death and sin and misery.” And all this he expressly applies to the love of glory when directed to objects honourable in themselves, and not only when it shews itself in what would be pronounced a perverted and bad ambition.—When men deny that this corrupt principle pervades their minds—even the minds of the most elevated, (“for many are the slaves of lower and baser lusts,”) we may know, he says, “that they are yet carnal, and under the dominion of sin. For as long as we vindicate ourselves it is certain that we lack the light of the Spirit, which detects and exposes a man to himself. . . . It remains fixed and certain therefore, that all the counsels of man, as far

as he is left to himself are sin: for he refers every thing to himself." And this position our author faely and acutely illustrates: not scrupling to add "Even in writing upon these humbling and sacred subjects, the desire of vainglory insinuates itself." Whenever men have "written with a pure design, it has proceeded from God and not from themselves."

Original sin, or human depravity, is a doctrine on which it has been pronounced that Zwingle "probably was never completely orthodox:"<sup>1</sup> and it must be admitted that he at times wrote indiscreetly and improperly upon it—calling it "not properly a sin," but a "malady" of our nature, consequent upon the fall of Adam. Yet when we consider, that he distinctly asserts the criminality and ill-desert of our natural evil disposition, and that it "deserveth," as our ninth Article asserts, "God's wrath and damnation," we shall perhaps be inclined to conclude with Ruchat, that he was "wronged upon this subject;" and that it was rather an ill-advised refinement of language into which he fell, than a real corruption of doctrine.<sup>2</sup> Assuredly at least, after reading the above passages we must acquit him, as far as his great work, *De verâ et falsâ Religione* is concerned, of having delivered a slight and diluted doctrine concerning the fall and depravity of man.

(3.) In speaking of *Religion* generally, (for he afterwards considers the Christian Religion in particular,) he recurs again to the case of fallen Adam, and thus vividly illustrates from it the rise of genuine religion, or piety, in the heart of man. "Had Adam felt that he had any thing remaining after his fall which might gain the favour of his Maker, he would not have fled to hide himself: but his case appeared to himself so desperate that we do not read even of his having recourse to supplications. He dared not at all appear before God. But here the mercy and kindness of the Most High are displayed, who recalls

<sup>1</sup> Dean Milner.

<sup>2</sup> See Contin. of Milner, ii. 513: iii. 142, 202.

the fugitive even when, with a traitor's mind, he is passing over to the camp of the enemy, and not even offering a prayer for pardon; receives him to his mercy; and, as far as his justice would permit, restores him to a happy state. Here the Almighty exhibited a splendid example of what he would do for the whole race of Adam; sparing him, and treating him with kindness, even when he deserved only punishment."

"Here then religion took its rise, when God recalled despairing fugitive man to himself: like a kind father who hates indeed his son's folly and wickedness, but cannot hate the son himself; but tenderly calls him to him, and bids him consider in what a situation he stands. 'Adam, where art thou?' Oh unutterable mercy of our heavenly Father *He* makes the inquiry, without whom, as placing all things in the situations which they must respectively occupy, none of them could at all exist. He demands, 'Where art thou?' not that he may be himself informed, but to make blind ignorant man sensible of his unhappy condition, and to convince him of his guilt. . . . This is the very cradle of religion, of *piety*—a word, we may observe, applied as well between parents and their children as between God and man. See then the piety of the Father towards his impious child: he runs to him; he stops him in the midst of his rash and wayward purposes.—So also to this very day the beginning of piety is on God's part: and all for *our* benefit: for he can receive nothing from us. But this piety on God's part is then made perfect, (or attains its end,) when we are turned to Him who calleth us off from our own infatuated counsels.—Unhappy indeed is that earthly parent that pursues, with unwearied kindness, a son who as perseveringly rejects his calls: but this can never happen where Almighty God is concerned: for whom he calls he compels<sup>1</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Rather *inclines*.

answer, whether he will or not. This is proved in the instances of Adam the prevaricator, David the adulterer and murderer, and Paul the persecutor.—Such then is the origin and nature of religion. God exposes a man to himself; shews him his disobedience, treachery, misery; so that he may quite despair of himself. But he at the same time discloses to him the amplitude of his own mercy and kindness—such that he who had just despaired of himself sees that there remains for him, in the bosom of his Creator and Father, such grace, so sure, so ready, so all-sufficient, that he can never be separated from Him on whose grace he relies. And this *adherence of the heart*, by which a man relies without wavering on God as the only good—who alone can soothe his sorrows, alone avert from him all evils or turn them to his good—and thus regards him as a father; this is piety; this is religion. For they who thus regard God as a father will constantly and anxiously study to please him, and to do his will. . . . And so full is the testimony of holy scripture to the purport of all which we have now taught, that the whole doctrine of both the Old Testament and the New, and the burden of the song of all the saints of God, is nothing else than this—that we are destitute of every thing—that God possesses all things—and that he will deny us nothing.”

(4.) In speaking more particularly of *the Christian religion*, he strikingly lays open the spirituality of the divine law, and the insufficiency of all human righteousness: and then, proceeding to “more joyful subjects, the glad tidings of the gospel, by which God not only announced but brought salvation” to a lost world, he thus piously introduces the discussion of it. “As this mystery is to be approached with the profoundest humility, and treated even with trembling reverence, it behoves us first of all to fall down before the Fountain of grace, imploring him so to enlighten our minds and guide our discourse, that

we may say nothing unworthy of him. And, since the mind, in matters of faith, cannot be wrought upon by human language, however well chosen, unless the Lord so teach and draw the heart that it may willingly follow, we must no less beseech him who justifies the sinner, and 'calls those things which are not as though they were,' to enlighten the minds of those to whom we would communicate the gospel, that they may understand it, and so to allure and soften their hearts that they may obey it. For he denies nothing to our fervent prayers; and, on the other hand, there is nothing which we should presume to take in hand without such earnest addresses to him. May He therefore put a right word into our mouth!"

(5.) *Deliverance from the law.* "We are not in such a sense delivered from the (moral) law as not to be bound to obey it; for it is the eternal and immutable will of God: not a tittle shall ever pass from it. The rules, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, Thou shalt not kill, steal, or swear falsely,' can never be abrogated:" but we are delivered, 1. by God's infusing the love of himself and of holiness into our hearts, which leads us to obey 'not by constraint but willingly'—and 'love is the fulfilling of the law:' and, 2. by the law's no longer having the power to condemn the believer in Christ.

His doctrine concerning providence, predestination, and free-will, shall be noticed in considering his treatise "of Providence."

2. The occasion of Zwingle's "Short Introduction to the Evangelical Doctrine, designed for the use of the Pastors," with its circulation, under the authority of the council, among the clergy of the canton of Zurich, has already been mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

The opening is devout and very important. "In the first place, as no one can fail to observe that all

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 94.

the controversies which at this day prevail in every part of the church have originated in the ignorance and blindness of one set of men or another; and as at the same time it certainly appears that all external instruction is vain and inefficient, unless a divine power enlighten and draw the minds of men; it is the duty of every true Christian, both publicly and privately, with the most earnest supplications, to implore of Almighty God to command the light of his word to shine out of darkness, and to give unto us miserable creatures, buried in the deep night of ignorance, rightly to know and unfeignedly to love Him; and, moved by the love of Him, so to direct our whole lives as shall be pleasing in his sight, that we may at length enjoy him in his heavenly kingdom for ever.—Nor will he deny us what we thus ask.”

Next with regard to doctrine: “Our beginning,” he says, “must be the same as our Divine Master’s was—‘Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.’ We must cry and thunder in the ears of a guilty world as he did, and as John did, who thus ‘prepared the way of the Lord’.... But, that every man may know the grounds on which repentance is necessary, and may have conviction brought home to his own breast, we must lay open the nature and source of sin.” And this leads him to treat of the fall of Adam, and the depravity of all his posterity, in consequence of which they “can work no good thing” of themselves—so morally “diseased and corrupted are they become.” Of this topic he speaks largely in the same way that we have before heard him doing. “This,” he concludes, “is original sin:” and “our own experience” may teach us that such is our case: the proof of which he pursues by appealing to the pride, selfishness, and other evil affections of which, if we at all know ourselves, we cannot but be sensible.

He then comes to the law of God; the “final cause,” the great design, of which, as given to sinners, is to bring them to “the knowledge” and con-



viction of sin. "It cannot render man righteous and pious:" it "only shews him what he ought to be." "We must all therefore despair of our own righteousness."

This introduces "the gospel"—in which "the grace of the Father is displayed to us through his only-begotten Son," who hath "obtained eternal felicity for all men; for as all were created by him, so are all redeemed by him." "Whoever therefore receives this mystery of salvation with a true faith, resting with an unwavering (or undivided) mind on the most precious merit of Christ's death and passion, is made partaker of eternal life and true blessedness."

He then answers the objection, that this doctrine supersedes the necessity of good works, and opens the door to licentiousness. "Whoever," he says, "babbles in this way can never yet have tasted that the Lord is gracious, or known that heavenly gift by which we are rendered partakers of the Holy Ghost." And he beautifully dilates on this theme, of the spirit of filial love, duty, and obedience which the experience of the grace of the gospel, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, will generate.

He equally well meets the objection, that our daily infirmities and sins must drive us to despair, if we can find in ourselves no merit to counterbalance them. He illustrates the case by the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican. "As often as the remembrance of the Christian's sins presses upon his mind he exclaims, '*Be merciful (be propitiated) to me, a sinner!* O Lord, I am overwhelmed with my sins: my iniquities and the pollutions of my life are all in thy sight: but to thee, O most merciful Father, I fly, on whose grace alone I rely with a firm faith.'—And this exercise of faith, by which we ever have recourse to the mercy of God as our only refuge, has more efficacy to prevent our being overpowered by the tyranny of our sins than all other guards and provisions whatever."

And here he strikingly sets forth how Christ is made to us "all and every thing"—our "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption."—"How shall not God with him freely give us all things?" Let no simple soul therefore here surmise, that he is insufficient and unfit to hold communion with a high and holy God: for it amply suffices for us to testify our faith to God the Father through his Son Jesus Christ, 'who ever liveth to make intercession for us.' He is himself the Wisdom of the Father: and, as made wholly our's, he is *our wisdom* also. We are guilty, unrighteous, laden with sin: but he is righteous and perfect; and he has expiated our sins," and is made our *righteousness*. "We are sinful and unholy, but he is pure and is made our's"—our *sanctification*. "We are sold under sin, but he is our *redemption*." And this leads to a touching expostulation with those who virtually forsook Christ to have recourse to other mediators or intercessors. "One thing I perceive to be wanting to you—*You have not known God*: for you do not confide in him as a gracious and most merciful Father, though you call him by that name; but rather you regard him as a severe and awful Being whom you dare not approach."

He then reprobates the idea of the law being abrogated by Christ. He has redeemed us from its *curse*, and delivered us from it as a *covenant*, but by his Spirit dwelling in us he renders us conformable to it; and only by that conformity to it are we demonstrated to be true members of Christ, justified in his righteousness.

He afterwards proceeds to the duties of that class of persons for whom this "Introduction" was specially intended—the clergy. They were to devote themselves to prayer, the study of the word of God, and labours for the edification of their flocks.—The remainder of the work is employed on the then important subjects of Images and the Mass.

From this composition we derive a fresh proof that, in spite of controversies and minor differences, THE DOCTRINE OF THE REFORMATION WAS ONE, whether in Germany, in Switzerland, or in England. And the reason why it was every where the same was, that it was the true gospel of Jesus Christ, brought to light again, through the medium of God's word, by the Holy Spirit shining into the hearts of numerous wise and good men in divers countries, after it had been obscured and well-nigh lost for ages.

3. Zwingle's treatise on Providence is addressed to the Landgrave of Hesse, being the substance of a discourse which the author had delivered before him at the period of the Conference of Marpurg, and which the Landgrave desired to see reduced to writing.

The work abounds with elevated and sublime sentiments, of which we shall exhibit a few specimens.—"Providence," our author says, "is Wisdom employed in surveying and directing all things. We define it therefore, A perpetual and immutable government and administration of all things throughout the universe." And it is incompatible with the divine perfections, he argues, that God should not exercise such a providence over the world and every thing in it: with his wisdom, that he should not *know* all things; and with his power or goodness, that, knowing, he should not *direct* all things. If *any* thing were left to chance it might throw *all* things into confusion.—"That many things are by *us* unknown, or neglected, or despised, only shews our remoteness from Deity: ' for to God nothing is mean, nothing is contemptible. To be capable of disdain at any thing is a proof of weakness and of a degree of misery."—"Second causes," by the agency of which every thing takes place, "are rather *means* and *instruments*, than, properly speaking, *causes*...

"Hinc est, quod Numen non sumus."

It is not really the earth that brings forth, or the water that nourishes, the air that fertilizes, or the fire that warms, or the sun that animates: but it is He, that is the source, the life, and the support of all things, who uses these various instruments, and by them works their several effects. He feeds the varied fruits of the earth by the element of water; refreshes, fills, and makes them grow by the air; ripens and gives them beauty, mellows and perfects them, by the sun....When therefore we see the parent earth putting forth her corn, the tree bearing his fruit, the sun shedding light and warmth around, let us as much realize the hand of God ministering all these things to us, as we do that of a kind father when we see him give a cluster of grapes to his beloved child."

"Man (as he came from his Creator's hand) is the most extraordinary and admirable of all creatures. An angel is a noble being, consisting of pure spirit: but if you compare man with him, will you not be astonished? He is at once heavenly and earthly—a CELESTIAL ANIMAL....In so constituting him, the Creator seems to have afforded some shadow of that commerce which he would one day hold with this world in the person of his Son. For what could so plainly and naturally have prepared us for the incarnation of the Son of God, as seeing an intellectual spirit lodged in a sluggish earthly body?"

Again: "Take away man out of this lower world, and all is bereaved, sunk, and degraded. Who is there then of all visible creatures, to know God, to hold intercourse with him, to enjoy him? Man is to the world what God is to man. Remove him, and all is widowed and destitute. Who is there then any more for the sun to warm, or the zephyrs to fan, or for whom the earth may bring forth her fruits? Will you say, There are the lower animals? But for whom would they exist, when no one remained that understood the use of any thing? It was necessary

then that he, who was to be the master, the lord I may say the husband of the world, should have something in common with the creatures over whom he was to preside. At the same time he must have had some superior endowment, by which he should be enabled to govern them. A body therefore was to *him* who was to be the head of all corporeal things and a soul to *him*, who alone among corporeal things should hold kindred and communication with all spiritual subsistences.... But now observe the body assigned to man, and compare it with that of the animals around him. The lion is covered with hair, and has formidable teeth and claws. The stag, and every lower creature has his weapons of offence or defence. But the human body is adorned smooth, tender, and unarmed. Some have adduced this as a proof of the weakness and inferiority of man: *we* think it a token and omen of his superiority and happiness. Formed as he was to be the image of God and all the creatures of God, a body adapted to gentleness, peace, and friendship became him.

In this work our author develops the liberal and predestinarian sentiments, carrying his doctrine to several particulars, to a length almost unknown among intelligent and respectable Calvinists of modern times, and suffering statements to escape which are exceedingly to be deprecated. But on this subject it would not be proper to enter in this place.<sup>1</sup> We only subjoin a general remark with reference to it.

It has been clearly established concerning all of the very greatest reformers, Luther, Melancthon and Zwingle, (and we know that many more together with them,<sup>2</sup>) that, at an earlier period, at least in their course, they not only held those doctrines of election and predestination which have frequently been denominated Calvinistic, but that

<sup>1</sup> See Contin. of Milner, iii. 222—231.

<sup>2</sup> Wicliff also is well known to have gone very far in the

carried them to a length almost unknown among 'modern Calvinists.' Nor did those high doctrines originate with these persons. They held them in common with eminent writers who had preceded them, and were members of the Roman-catholic church; and they would have been able to support even some of their boldest positions by the authority of St. Augustine himself. Why then is all the odium of these obnoxious doctrines to be accumulated upon the devoted head of CALVIN, who had never yet been heard of in public life, even at the latest period here referred to?

Yet further: surely none can be so blinded with prejudice, as not to acknowledge, even after this statement is made, and these facts confessed, the vast practical wisdom, the holy excellence, and the immense usefulness, which were found in the three great men now specially referred to, in combination even with that highly exceptionable form and measure of these doctrines with which they were chargeable. What real discernment, what value for Christian truth, and love of Christian virtue, can we allow to that man, who does not see, and irresistibly *feel*, that these persons still deserve our highest veneration, affection, and gratitude, *notwithstanding* the excess to which they may have gone on these subjects? Yea, though we would be far from implying that any error is harmless, yet we may even ask, what great obstruction, or even alloy, to their actual usefulness do we *see* arising from their sentiments upon these abstruse points? Those sentiments little affected their ordinary instructions and modes of address—than which nothing could be more impressive, nothing more practical, nothing more effective. And, if this must be admitted concerning the mighty dead, why should not some small measure of the same justice be dealt out to the humbler living? Where have been found more holy, more laborious, more efficient men, in our own days, than

those, whom the circumstance of their holding some very much moderated and attempered portion of the doctrines, taught by these great reformers, has exposed to almost unbounded animosity and obloquy? What would have been thought of the *modern* spirit upon this subject, in times past? What may we suppose will be thought of it in times yet to come? In a review hereafter assuredly to be made, will bitter and contemptuous hostility be esteemed any proof of either our wisdom or our virtue?

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Progress of Reformation in French Switzerland—Its state in the Cantons—Synod of Berne—Helvetic Confession—Death of Haller.*

WHILE the German part of Switzerland was harassed in the manner we have seen, with the preludes, the conflicts, and the consequences of war, the French or Western part enjoyed comparative repose, and was the scene of the successful progress of the gospel. We have already given some account of the propagation of the reformed doctrine in that country, principally through the zealous labours of Farel, to the close of the year 1530. We proceed now to continue that account, and also to record such occurrences as appear worthy of notice in other parts of Switzerland, to the period when Geneva will appear on the stage, and for a time almost engross our attention.

The various promising scenes of service opening before Farel in Aigle, Morat, Neuchâtel, Vallengin, and other places rendered the assistance of faithful fellow-labourers indispensable to him. He wrote to his friends in various quarters to procure him such assistance, but without adequate success. The persecutions in France (so does the providence of God order the affairs of his church, making its afflictions in one part subserve its interests in another,) furnished the principal supply, by the number of pious



ministers and other persons whom it compelled to quit their native country. A letter of Farel's to one person of this description, Eustace André, in January, 1531, may further illustrate the spirit of the writer, and the nature of the service in which he was engaged. "You wish to know in what state the affairs of our Lord in these parts now are. In truth, they proceed well in comparison with past times. Numbers see clearly the frauds of Antichrist: and great liberty is enjoyed for speaking of Christ. Yet, when it is considered how much still remains to be done, and how far men are from the harmlessness, the holiness, and the charity which ought to be found in Christians, you might well say that all is still in evil case." After some further explanation he proceeds: "The labourer must here live at his own charge while he is waiting for the harvest: and this, I confess, is difficult in a time of scarcity, when money goes but a little way. But I know that our heavenly Father will never desert his children. . . . Those who enter on the service now proposed to you must reckon on meeting with much trial. I can promise you no other than this; having myself experienced almost incredible vexations from various quarters. If then, my brother, you so know Jesus Christ as to preach him purely, without entering into vain controversies about water or bread, or tithes and taxes<sup>1</sup>—in which questions some appear to place all Christianity: if you have nothing else to propose than that men, renouncing all impiety and injustice, and armed with faith, should lay up for themselves treasures in heaven, where Jesus Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and aim only to implant a 'faith which worketh by love:' disposed in this manner, and seeking nothing but the things which are above, and the sole glory of Jesus Christ, you may boldly set out on your journey

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the Anabaptists on one hand, and to the sacramental controversy on the other.

either, animated to bear whatever cross awaits you. You must not expect repose but labour: you must not rest till you have first wearied yourself; nor reap till you have sown at your own cost."

We have here a fine specimen of a Christian hero endeavouring to enlist a fellow-soldier to serve with him! Indeed it was perhaps going unreasonably far to propose, without respect to the circumstances of the individual, that he should come with no other prospect, at least for some time, than that of subsisting himself at his own charge, while he laboured for the good of others. Want of the means of doing this, together with the fact that, as a married man, he wished for a more quiet situation, caused some demur on the part of André: but, to his honour be it recorded, he allowed his objections to be overcome, and became the coadjutor of Farel.

At Avenche, where the bishop of Lausanne possessed both a temporal and a spiritual power, Farel encountered much opposition and some danger; though the people were anxious to hear him. He was supported however by the powerful arm of Berne: and, as Friburg took an active part on the other side, this led to some discussions between the two states, and to such an arrangement concerning their common dependencies, the bailliages of Swartzburg, Morat, Orbe, and Granson, as was highly favourable to the reformed.

The doctrine of the reformation had been first introduced into Orbe in the year 1530: but it drew little attention till the following year, when some violent proceedings took place, in which the women, headed by certain "devout and honourable" members of their own body, bore a leading part. It is remarkable, however, that the heart of the ringleader of them all, Elizabeth Reiff, the wife of Hugonin d'Arnay, a person of quality, was soon afterwards so touched and changed, we trust, by the grace of God,

that both she and her husband embraced the reformation, and persevered constant in their attachment to it till death.

Some subsequent attempts which Farel made to gain attention at Orbe, though vigorously supported by the authority of Berne, met for the present with but very limited success: yet among the first fruits of Orbe, produced at this early period, were some converts who became useful labourers. At the head of these is to be reckoned Peter Viret, whose memory, says Ruchat, "will be for ever blessed among us," and whom we shall have repeated occasion to mention hereafter. He was the son of a burghess of Orbe, and was born there in the year 1511. After receiving his earlier education in his native town, he studied at Paris, and distinguished himself in that university. There he first formed his acquaintance with Farel; and there was first illuminated by some rays of the light of divine truth—a circumstance which compelled him to quit his situation in order to avoid persecution. He retired to Orbe, and was prevailed upon by Farel to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. His labours were first blessed to his own parents, whom he had the happiness to lead to the knowledge of Christ and to true piety.

The rest of the proceedings in the Pays de Vaud and other parts of French Switzerland, to the close of the year 1534, may be despatched in few words. Farel, assisted by such persons as have been alluded to, laboured assiduously, but not always with entire prudence, amidst great opposition, and frequently at the risk of his life, at Avenche, Orbe, Payerne, Granson, Moudon, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Vallengin, Moutier-Grand-Val, and throughout the country generally. The government of Berne which possessed either jurisdiction or great influence in all these places, supported him vigorously: indeed they appear to have done too much, if not to induce the people to

receive the gospel, yet to compel them to hear it. The papal party, on the other hand, raised violent tumults against the reformers and the reformed: and these, it must be confessed were in some instances guilty of disorders, in breaking images and overturning altars, which gave their enemies advantage against them. The government of Berne, however, uniformly checked every movement of misguided individual zeal; and the labours of the reformers were eventually successful in these parts.

Concerning the Cantons at large, with the exception of Berne, there is little at this period to relate in addition to what has been stated concerning the consequences of the war. At Zurich a more regular provision was made for the clergy; the library was put in order under the direction of Pellican, and was enriched by the addition of Zwingle's books and manuscripts, purchased at the public expence. At Basle, Capito lent his zealous assistance in improving the discipline of the church, and promoting a reformation of manners among the people. The university and the public schools were extended, and furnished with a more complete establishment of professors and teachers. Appenzel, at this time embraced the reformation by a plurality of voices. In Glaris, the two parties, the reformed and their opponents, contended with mutual violences, but without any interesting result. The restored abbot of S. Gallen attempted forcibly to suppress the reformation in his dependencies. His attempts were defeated: but the Tockenburg was anew brought under his yoke. In the towns of Bremgarten and Mellingen, the cantons of Zurich and Berne zealously exerted themselves to protect the reformed faith: but it would appear without eventual success.

But the meeting and proceedings of the Synod of Berne, in the year 1532, may be considered as the most important occurrence that took place at this

period in any of the churches whose history has hitherto come under our notice. Many disorders prevailed in the canton, which were increased by the relaxation of discipline produced by the late unfortunate war: and on the whole the reformation was felt to be in various respects imperfect. To consider of proper remedies for these evils, the whole clergy of the country were convoked at Berne, and Capito was invited from Strasburg to give his assistance. There met together in consequence two hundred and thirty ministers; who continued in consultation from the ninth to the fourteenth of January, and agreed upon a copious list of regulations relative to doctrine, discipline, the conduct of divine service, and the preaching and behaviour of the pastors of the church. These rules were finally reduced to writing by Capito, and, having received the sanction of the council, were printed at Basle. Haller, the reformer and pastor of Berne, was so impressed with the services of Capito on this occasion, that he styled him the Father of the Bernese church.

The edict by which the council gave a full sanction and confirmation to the Acts or Articles of this Synod breathes much Christian feeling. After adverting fully to the evils which had hitherto prevailed, the rulers of Berne declare: "For these reasons, beginning with our own body, we have made serious remonstrances one with another: we have anxiously examined ourselves concerning the spirit by which each of us is influenced towards Almighty God and towards his gospel; to ascertain whether, at the bottom, we have more at heart the preservation of our lives, honours, and estates, than the possession of the heavenly and eternal life which was purchased for us by Christ Jesus. . . . So far from being warranted in any relaxation, or in taking any offence at our profession, by reason of the troubles which have befallen us, we acknowledge ourselves bound and engaged anew to uphold the gospel, and to maintain a conduct becoming

it among ourselves, and as far as our authority extends, and the Lord shall give us grace, among our subjects."

Much right feeling and heavenly wisdom appear to have prevailed on this occasion: and it gives us the most sincere pleasure to find, that, while the Bernese were zealous, as we have seen and shall see them, in promoting reformation among their neighbours, they shewed themselves so anxious that it should be perfected, and should produce its full effects among themselves at home.

At this period hopes were conceived, or at least pretended to be entertained, on the part of the pope, that Zurich would retrace her steps, and return into the bosom of the church. To promote so desirable an object his holiness sent a nuncio, Ennius, into Switzerland, under pretence of engaging the cantons to assist in a war against the Turk, but with directions if possible to gain access to Zurich. He even, in order to promote his design, made proposals for repaying certain sums of money which he had long owed that canton, but which, according to the morality of his church, he was justified in withholding from heretics. The attempt was renewed the following year. But, in the mean time, the exertions of Bullinger and Leo Jude so rekindled the languishing zeal of the citizens, that the pope's insidious offers were rejected, and a decree was promulgated sufficiently suited to extinguish the hopes of the enemies of the reformation. Chagrined at his disappointment, Ennius spared no pains again to embroil Zurich with the Roman-catholic cantons. Attempts were also made to form an alliance between the pope, the emperor, and those cantons: but the Turks found the emperor too much employment to leave him at leisure to force popery upon the Swiss: so that all which could be effected was a fruitless treaty between the pope, the Roman-catholic cantons, and the Vallaisans.

It was in the year 1534 that the final suppression of the reformation at Soleure took place. After the close of the war the victorious cantons iniquitous and contrary to the treaty of peace, being soon after by the Romanists of Soleure, insisted that they should either pay a thousand crowns toward the expences of the war—or dismiss the reformed minister, Philip Grotz—or submit to the judgment of the cantons for having assisted the Bernese. The reformed would have complied with the first of these demands, however unjust; but the real object was the expulsion of their minister, and the suppression of their religion; and nothing short of this would satisfy their enemies: and this object, after a long altercation, in which Berne exerted itself in favour of one party and Friburg in support of the other, at length fully attained: the reformed were expelled from the town, and all the remaining inhabitants compelled to attend mass.

The first Helvetic Confession of Faith was published in the year 1536. It arose out of the attempt made to procure union among the contending parties in the sacramental controversy. The divines of Zurich, irritated at the harsh remarks which Luther made on the venerable Oecolampadius and the Swiss reformers, had met, and resolved to publish a vindication of these eminent persons, and of the reformation generally; when Capito happily intervened, and dissuaded them from widening the breach—urging that Luther had been wrought upon by the misrepresentations of evil-minded men. After some time Luther seemed for a time to be softened, and disinclined to listen to proposals of union. The Zurich thus held out produced some meetings of the Swiss divines: at one of which, held at Basle in January 1536, and comprehending deputies from Zurich, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Mulhausen, Bienne, with Bucer and Capito from Strasburg, was resolved to draw up a confession, not only

at point in question with Luther, but of their faith generally, which might serve as well for communication to the general council, then much talked of, as at the present occasion. The task was committed to Bullinger and Leo Jude of Zurich, Oswald Myconius and Simon Grynæus of Basle, and Caspar Hegander of Berne. The confession thus drawn up was soon after conveyed to Wittemberg by Lacer and Capito, at the period of the Concord of that place,<sup>1</sup> and was not disapproved there.—That however which generally passes under the name of the Helvetic Confession is the larger one of the year 1566.

The name of Haller does not appear among the divines concerned in drawing up the confession. No doubt the reason had been his inability to take a part in the work, as he died the very month in which it bears date—26th February, 1536. "He was universally regretted," says Ruchat, "on account of his zeal, his knowledge, his mildness, his piety, and the many excellent qualities which distinguished him among the divines of his time. Colbius, his coadjutor, had died the preceding year. The council solicited and obtained Sebastian Meyer from Strasburg to succeed Haller: and, in addition to him, and Simon Sultzer, and Kontzen, (who had succeeded Colbius,) they soon after procured Erasmus Ritter, from Schaffhausen, to minister in their church. But, even these our labourers being found insufficient for the duties which devolved on them, two additional persons were afterwards appointed to assist them.

But our attention is now chiefly attracted to another scene of the triumphs of the reformation. Zurich, Berne, Basle, have each in succession presented to us interesting and important transactions. While the grand struggle in those places was carried on between Christian light and liberty on the one part,

<sup>1</sup> *Lutheran Reformation*, ii. 90.



and papal darkness and tyranny on the one while the great heroes of the reformation led. contest, our eye was naturally fixed upon the but, the victory being achieved, things gradually settled down to the level of more ordinary, but useful, pastoral labour; which, though it trains for heaven, furnishes in general little material history: and our view will now naturally be directed to Geneva.

## CHAPTER IX.

*City of Geneva—Reformation established—Independence achieved and secured—Reformation of the adjoining territory, and of the Pays de Vaud.*

City of Geneva, with its small territory, was not in its own times reckoned among the cantons of Switzerland, but only among their allies. The era of the reformation was that also of the establishment of liberty. At the commencement of the sixteenth century this little state, insignificant till these events, the foundation of its celebrity, was placed under a very complicated and anomalous government.

Three separate powers, the citizens, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, claimed and exercised their respective jurisdictions within it, which could not be ill blended together. Charles III, at this time duke of Savoy, had formed the design of making himself master of the state; and for this purpose he, from the year 1510 to 1535, incessantly harassed the city, leaving no method of force or stratagem untried which he could hope to advance his object: but

in the course of these contests the people of Geneva were often subjected to great cruelties. Among the rest, their territory was long held by the conspiracy of the Gentlemen of the Spoon, (de la Cuisse), called from the badge of a gold or silver spoon. It consisted of nobles and other principal inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud in the interest of the duke of Savoy, who, with their dependents, waylaid, ordered, or even murdered the Genevans, when they issued from their town, and such persons as held communication with them. The people of Geneva and Lausanne joined, or even perhaps originated this confraternity.

at the date last mentioned, his attempts wrongfully to grasp more than belonged to him ended in the final loss of what he had possessed. The foundation of the Genevese liberties was laid in an alliance, which these machinations compelled the citizens to form, with the cantons of Berne and Friburg, in the year 1526. For the greater part of the time these struggles appear to have had no connexion with religion. But several causes now concurred to make the friends of liberty lend no unwilling ear to the proposals of reformation in the church. Of these causes one was the same which wrought in so many other places, but no where seems to have exhibited itself in greater force than in these parts. I refer to the extreme profligacy of the Romish clergy. As one instance we may mention, that the bishop of Geneva (Peter de la Beaume, who afterwards, on some other ground than that of merit, obtained a cardinal's hat,) had the infatuation, in these critical times, and amid these dangerous proceedings, forcibly to carry off, and that during the season of lent, the daughter of a respectable family, for whom he had conceived a criminal passion. The fact was notorious; and he was compelled to restore the young woman to her friends by the threats of the populace, who tumultuously surrounded his palace. Another fact, which served to open the way for the reformers was, that the adherents of the duke of Savoy, finding the weapons of worldly warfare less successful than they could have wished, sought to enlist those of the church on their side, and for this purpose induced the archbishop of Vienne, as metropolitan of the district, to issue an excommunication against the citizens of Geneva. But this perversion of spiritual power, to support civil despotism, only produced a revulsion against the authority which thus abused its trust. All future recognition of the archbishop of Vienne or his ecclesiastical court, as well as the reception of any apostolical letters except from their

own bishop, was forbidden at Geneva under severe penalties.

The following anecdote may shew the spirit which had now begun to spread itself. Francis Bonnivard, prior of S. Victor's, at Geneva, and the author of a Chronicle of that state, going on an embassy from the citizens to Berne, found the sentence of excommunication against the Genevese posted on the doors of the churches in some places through which he had to pass. His curiosity prompted him to go up for the purpose of reading it, when he was reminded by his associates, that if he read the paper he would become obnoxious to its denunciations. He replied, "If you have unjustly banished the Mamelukes," (a name given to the partizans of Savoy, as the enemies of liberty,) "you are yourselves excommunicated by God, and it is his curse that you should fear, and not the curse of men. But, if you had good reason for what you have done, the archbishop has no power over your consciences: and, if he excommunicates you, pope Berthold" (meaning Haller, the reformer of Berne,) "will easily absolve you. Be assured," continued he, "that the conscience recognizes no other tribunal than that of God; that neither the devil nor the pope can do any harm except to those who stand in awe of them, and that their thunders are but an empty sound." Where such sentiments had found admission into the mind and utterance from the lips of an ecclesiastic, it can excite no surprise that great practical changes should speedily follow.

A third cause which aided the introduction of the reformation into Geneva was, the great disputation of Berne in the year 1528. Three divines from Geneva had attended that discussion, and, besides their reports, many others had brought to the city accounts of what passed, which produced a considerable impression.

On the other hand the people of Geneva had seri-

ous difficulties to encounter between their two allies, Berne and Friburg, whose joint friendship seemed indispensable to their safety, but who were zealously committed on opposite sides in the great question of religion. The Friburgers, distrusting the course which things were taking, threatened by a deputation, despatched for the purpose, to break off their alliance with the Genevese, if the latter abandoned the religion which their forefathers had professed for so many generations. Those of Berne, on the contrary represented the great need which the church at large, and that of Geneva in particular, had of reformation, and that they ought to aim, as their best defence against the many and powerful enemies who surrounded them, to engage the favour of God on their side—for which no better means could be devised than the abolishing of superstition and of the abuses of the church, and the restoration of the doctrines and practice of the apostles. From discordances among the citizens themselves, corresponding to these between their allies, and from the dangers that threatened on the one side and on the other, there arose such divisions even among those who were united in favour of civil liberty, that it can be attributed to nothing less than God's gracious designs with respect to this new and important seat of the reformation, that ruin did not ensue. In the present emergency, the parties agreed to have recourse to the counsels of Bonnivard, the enlightened prior of S. Victor's: and his answer pressed upon their attention some home truths, which served for a time to restrain both parties, and furnished matter for serious consideration. He told them, "that a change in the state of the church was certainly to be desired, but a change which should *correct* existing evils, and not merely disguise them: that a reformation was called for not only of the clergy, but of those who demanded it in them: that, if the clergy were guilty of many faults, the people were chargeable with still more:

that those who were themselves loaded with crimes were not the persons to undertake the correction of others: that what men of this description hated in the clergy was not so much their sins as their preferments: that they sought not the good of the state, but liberty to indulge their passions without restraint: that it behoved them to consider, that if they expelled the Romish clergy, and received the reformed ministers in their stead, they would not meet with such connivance as at present—for, while the former pressed obedience to the orders of the pope, and neglected the commandments of God, the latter admitted only the commandments of God, and paid no regard to any thing else. They ought therefore deliberately to inquire, whether they had made up their minds to reform their lives as well as their creed: if they had, they might go boldly forward: but, if not, they ought to talk no more of reformation. The heads of the state, if they meant to reform the clergy, must first set a virtuous example themselves: and, in short, there could be no better point at which to begin than for each one to reform himself."

Let the reader, when he comes to the history of Calvin and his conflicts with the *libertine* friends of reformation, bear in mind the picture here drawn by this admirably sensible and honest monk. Too faithful a likeness did it appear that he had here sketched of some of the earliest zealots for reformation at Geneva. But then the picture is faithful on the other side also—in the representation it makes of the reformed ministers, who found in those zealots not less determined enemies than in the papists themselves. The scene is from the first striking and instructive. Three parties of frequent occurrence appear upon the stage together: the adherents of formality, superstition, and self-righteousness—those who contend for the grace of the gospel, in the hope of finding in it a licence for sin—and the faithful servants of God, equally opposed to both.

But little actual progress however was yet made in the introduction of reformation at Geneva. The citizens were too much occupied in defending themselves against the various attempts of the duke of Savoy, to give a deliberate attention to any other subject. In 1530 open warfare commenced, and the duke formed the siege of the city : but he was obliged immediately to raise it again by the prompt assistance of the allies. The treaty of St. Julien followed: which, though it was not observed, had important consequences, since by it the duke pledged the Pays de Vaud to the Bernese and the Friburgers; an arrangement which ultimately transferred the sovereignty to them, (chiefly to the former,) and thus produced the reformation of that country. The Bernese however grew weary of the alliance, because it both subjected them to constant trouble, and entailed great expences, which the poverty of Geneva was unable to reimburse. They even induced Friburg to join in proposing to the Genevese to surrender their alliance with the two cantons, in which case it was supposed terms might be made for them with the duke of Savoy: but, the people shewing that heroic determination to maintain their liberty, which proved them worthy of the blessing, these cantons resolved still to support them—which Berne did most heartily and effectively when the reformation was received amongst them.

Nearly all the traces that we find of the progress of reformed principles during the year 1530 are furnished by the two following notices: first, that, the council having decreed, on the instances made to them, that the fast of lent should be more strictly observed, and mass more diligently attended, the friends of reformation found themselves numerous enough, and supported by sufficient authority, to treat the decree with neglect: and, secondly, that the council was so far wrought upon by the complaints made of the disorderly lives of the clergy, as to

threaten that, unless they reformed their manners, their revenues should be sequestered and applied to charitable uses.

There is reason however to believe that by this time there was at Geneva not a few, unknown to history, who sighed for reformation, not only from better principles than those of some who have been alluded to, but upon higher views than any of a mere worldly kind; and who were willing even to suffer for their religion. We find Farel thus writing to Zwingle from Granson, 1 October 1531, only ten days before the death of the great reformer: "I learn that Geneva has thoughts of embracing Jesus Christ. Were they not restrained by the fear of the Fri-burgers, they would receive the gospel without further delay. Would that others had as much at heart the cause of Jesus Christ, as those of Friburg shew themselves to have the interests of the pope! The papists of Geneva, reckoning upon the protection of these allies, imprison the faithful without a hearing, and do them many injuries, no one forbidding it."

The year 1532 is to be considered as the era of the effectual introduction of the reformation into Geneva. Ruchat, in entering upon the account, notices the obstacles which opposed it, and which were surmounted here, as contrasted with the lately promising circumstances of Soleure, where the sacred cause soon after utterly failed; properly calling upon us to remark the sovereign and all-powerful providence of God, which orders all these events, and to whose grace, and not to the counsels of man, the gospel owes its success. In the first place, the clergy of Geneva, with the bishop at their head, were powerful, bigoted, and in every sense unenlightened. Then the manners of the people in general were, as Bonnivard had plainly told them, extremely corrupt. The state had still to maintain a perpetual conflict against the duke of Savoy. Geneva moreover was removed to a distance from the principal reformed states



of Switzerland, which might have afforded it example, encouragement, and assistance; and was envied by the subjects of Savoy, who were equally hostile and superstitious. Berne alone urged it forward: while Friburg, its other ally, no less zealously opposed its progress. Yet under all these untoward circumstances the word of God entered and prevailed; and occurrences present themselves which illustrate the workings of his providence and grace, and which will consequently interest the Christian mind.—The clergy weakened their own influence and alienated the hearts of the people from them, not only by their vicious lives, but by refusing to contribute to the expences necessarily incurred in resisting the duke: and such were the sentiments of the times, that the government would have esteemed it sacrilege to compel them. In the beginning of the summer, a jubilee, which with its concomitant indulgences the pope was shortly to publish, occasioning much conversation, printed placards were posted during the night, offering a general and free pardon to all sinners, “on the sole conditions of repentance and a lively faith in Jesus Christ.” This drew much attention, excited some disturbance, brought a remonstrance from Friburg, and issued in a decree of the council, prohibiting the introduction of any novelties. The number and influence of the reformed having however much increased, even among the members of the council, the decree was the same month followed by an address to the grand vicar of the bishop, (the abbot of Beaumont,) requesting him to cause the preaching in all the churches to be “conformed to the pure doctrine contained in the gospel, without the intermixture of fables and human inventions—that all might live in perfect harmony as their forefathers had done.” Alas! the council knew not the incompatibility of the two parts of their address—of the end proposed and the means pointed out for attaining it. In such a state of things as pre-

valled at Geneva, it was impossible that "the pure doctrine of the gospel" should come without producing, in the first instance, "division" rather than union, or even introducing "not peace but a sword." Many in all ages are unwilling to go to the expence of cordially receiving the gospel. They are unwilling, even for the sake of truth and salvation, to encounter the disquiet which its first entrance either into the heart, or the family, or the community must very probably occasion. They overlook our Lord's plain warnings upon the subject, and will not believe that it can be necessary to admit any thing which disturbs the "harmony" in error, or the repose of spiritual death, which has hitherto prevailed among them. Thus they put from them the word of life, which might cause indeed a temporary uneasiness, but which can alone give "quietness and assurance for ever."<sup>1</sup>

In the month of September, Farel accompanied by Anthony Saunier, like himself a native of Dauphiny, who had been his associate in a deputation to the Waldensian churches, visited Geneva at the instance of the council of Berne, and protected by letters of recommendation from them. They held repeated conferences with the friends of reformation. The canons and other ecclesiastics immediately took the alarm, and at their instigation the strangers were cited before the council; where some scrupled not to reproach them as common disturbers, who had nothing but mischief in view. The production of their letters of recommendation from the lords of Berne repressed these insults: yet they were forbidden to unsettle the minds of the people, and to create divisions, by preaching any new doctrine. Scarcely

<sup>1</sup> See Matt. x. 34—39. Luke xii. 49—53. Such is the paramount importance of the gospel that none of these effects, no nor even the most cruel persecutions clearly foreseen and foretold, were for a moment to delay its promulgation.

were Farel and his companion returned to their lodgings, when they received a citation to appear before the grand vicar and the episcopal council. The pretext was to demand of them an account of their doctrine, but the real design seems to have been to offer violence to their persons: which the senate apprehending sent two of the syndics to accompany them, for their protection. These officers were directed to propose a discussion between the parties, and themselves to preside at it: but it was no part of the plan of the Romish clergy and their adherents to admit of discussion. "That," said the bishop's criminal judge, "would not answer our purpose." He added in Latin to the clergy: "*Si disputetur, totum nostrum mysterium evertetur*"—"If we enter into dispute, our whole mystery will be subverted." Farel was then interrogated, and was insulted with the most opprobrious epithets. To these he replied, "That he deserved them not: that he preached Christ Jesus as crucified for our sins, and raised again for our justification: and that whosoever believed in Him should have eternal life, but that he that believed not should be damned. Thus he came to preach to all who would give him the hearing: and here, said he, I am, ready to give account of my faith and my doctrine, and to maintain them unto death—relying on the sole power of God who hath sent me." On this one of the ecclesiastical judges rose and said, "He hath spoken blasphemy; we have no need of witnesses: he is guilty of death." Farel replied, "Speak in the words of God, and not of Caiaphas:" while others cried out, "To the Rhone, to the Rhone with him! kill him, kill him! kill this new Luther!" adding, "It is better that this wicked Lutheran should die, than that all the people should be disturbed."—They were then ordered to withdraw into an adjoining gallery, where a servant of the grand vicar snapped an arquebuse at Farel, but happily without effect.—

In the end they were commanded to leave the city; which they did, and returned to Orbe and Granson.

But he, who had inspired the minds of many in Geneva with a sincere desire to be instructed in the gospel of Christ, did not long leave them without a teacher. Dauphiny supplied them with a third minister in the person of Anthony Froment. This young man, now only about twenty-two years of age, had been for some time a disciple of Farel, and the companion of his travels, and often of his sufferings. Farel, acquainted with his piety and zeal, thought him a proper person to water the seed that had been sown at Geneva, and to watch over its growth. He represented to him, that, as his name was yet but little known, he might go thither with the less risk; and that for any thing further he must repose on the providence of God. Froment for some time resisted the importunities of Farel, distrusting his own competence: but at length he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and in the month of November, 1532, took up his abode at Geneva. He first addressed himself to those whom Farel had especially marked out to him: but he found their courage so fallen, and their zeal so faint, that he was reduced to the greatest embarrassment, and thinking his life in danger resolved to retreat. But as he was actually leaving the city he felt himself so much pressed in conscience not to desert his work, that he could not proceed. Settling himself down therefore again in the place, he began to revolve the means by which he might hope to do good without attracting observation, or exciting opposition which he might not be able to withstand: and he resolved to imitate the example of his friend and master, who had introduced the gospel at Aigle under the cover of teaching a school. By undertaking to teach the reading and writing of the French language in a short time, as also to give advice in medicine, he drew around him a considerable number

of persons, both youth and adults ; and he took occasion to introduce to their notice the truths of the gospel. Those, who had themselves found the comfort and benefit of his doctrine, brought their relations and friends to hear it from him : so that the effect of his labours began to be widely spread. This called forth reproach and opposition : and he was particularly charged with exerting a magical influence over such women as resorted to hear him.— Happily a coadjutor was now raised up to him. This was Christopher Bouquet, a Franciscan, whose preaching in the season of advent added considerably to the number of those who listened to regular sermons from Froment, in a room where he was accustomed to meet them. Thus light was diffused. Those into whose minds it had in any degree found entrance met together, and discussed among themselves the questions which severally interested them. They read various small controversial pieces against prevailing errors : but especially they applied themselves to the examination of the scriptures, that from them they might be able to distinguish what religious doctrines and usages were really of divine origin, and what were mere human additions or corruptions.

One instance of remarkable conversion, by the joint means of the preaching of Froment and the reading of the scriptures, is recorded. The priests had spread among the ignorant and superstitious people the idea that the teachers of the new doctrines were no other than magicians, who had hosts of evil spirits at their command to accomplish their purposes. This notion had taken full possession of the mind, among others, of a Genevese lady of the name of Glaudine ; so that, regarding Froment as an arch-sorcerer, she resisted all the solicitations of those who would have prevailed on her to go and hear him. At length however she suffered her curiosity and the solicitations of her friends to overcome her

fears, and she resolved for once to visit his preaching-room—using the precaution to fortify herself by every preservative against enchantment, such as the *Agnus Dei*, relics, crossings, and the like. Thus protected she entered the room, and placing herself in front of the preacher, repeatedly traced upon her person the sign of the cross, and ardently commended herself to God and to the care of the saints. On listening to Froment, her first feeling was that of surprise at hearing nothing which savoured of incantation. By the time his discourse was ended, her courage was so much increased that she ventured to propose to him several questions, and to solicit of him the loan of a New Testament. Having obtained her request she shut herself up in her chamber, and, scarcely allowing herself time to take refreshment, did nothing for some days but read the sacred volume. The more she read, the more were her admiration and the ardour of her soul excited. She wept abundantly: she prayed: she discovered her errors, and renounced her superstitions. At the end of three days she sent for Froment to her house; she conferred with him; and, after having again heard him preach, she avowed her reception of the evangelical doctrine, blessing God most earnestly for having thus enlightened her with the knowledge of his truth. Nor was this all: she gained over her husband, who had been no less bigoted than herself, and others of her relations; and abounded in all the offices of Christian charity and kindness to those who suffered for their religion's sake.

But the progress of the reformed at Geneva was now become too notorious not to excite the fears and the indignation of the Romanists. Hence arose some tumultuous proceedings: on occasion of the first of which the council, though it evidently charged the priests with the chief blame, and called on the grand vicar to visit them with punishment, yet, anxious to preserve the peace, ordered Froment to quit the city;

and directed the people to content themselves with the preaching of Bouquet.

Bouquet, though a protestant in heart, had hitherto preached with so much caution that both parties alike went to hear him: but after the departure of Froment he became open and decided in the avowal of his sentiments. He exposed the doctrine of the mass and the worship of the saints: and by so doing irritated the ecclesiastics. Yet in such esteem was he held, that the council ordered that he should preach the lent sermons, and should receive the customary stipend. This however drew from the Friburgers so strong and menacing a remonstrance, that the council found it expedient to recommend Bouquet rather to give his services, during lent, to some other of those places which solicited them. At the same time they voted him an honourable gratuity on his departure.

The council had silenced the complaints of their allies of Friburg by an avowal of zeal against all innovation: yet, by publicly allowing the introduction of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, they two or three months afterwards took a step, perhaps without being aware of the consequences, than which, as experience had shewn, none could more effectually further the cause of reformation.

Froment now made an attempt to return to Geneva: but, meeting on the bridge a popish procession, and refusing to kneel before the cross, he was on the point of being precipitated into the Rhone by a number of female zealots; when he was happily rescued by his friends. Farel also yielded to an invitation to visit the city again; but he was still so ill-treated, notwithstanding his protection from Berne, that he was obliged to withdraw. Through the goodness of God, however, the dispersion of the pastors did not draw after it the ruin of the flock. The reformed ceased not to meet among themselves, though they were under the necessity of holding their meetings

by night. Here they prayed and read the scriptures together; such as were most competent undertaking to expound to their brethren. They also proceeded to celebrate the Lord's supper: but the person who had presumed to officiate on this occasion was banished for his offence.

About this time also the following occurrence took place. A Dominican friar, preaching in the convent of his order, inveighed vehemently and scurrilously against "the Lutherans." Olivetan, the translator of the scriptures into the French language, who was now tutor in the family of a gentleman of Geneva, was present; and, unable to hear with patience the calumnies of the preacher, he stood up and publicly answered him. This boldness, or as we may properly style it rashness, caused great disturbance, and might probably have cost its author his life, but for the vigorous interference of his friends.—He was banished, and withdrew to Neuchâtel: but is said to have been poisoned at Rome some years afterwards. —Another person also, who had in a large company pronounced attendance on the mass to be an act of idolatry, was subjected to banishment.

Baudichon and Solomon Pasta, two citizens of some rank, seeing the state in which things were, and that no one could now preach the doctrines of scripture without being subjected to banishment, went over to Berne, and solicited the interference of that canton. The council wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to the government of Geneva, intimating that, if they wished to preserve a good understanding with their ally, they must permit the preaching of the gospel. This letter produced a violent commotion. A large body of Roman catholics, incited by their priests, proceeded to the public hall, demanding that those who had made the application to Berne should be delivered up to justice. The measures of the magistrates not satisfying them, they took arms, and bound themselves by an




oath to massacre "the Lutherans." They even closed the gates of the city, and brought artillery to bear upon the house in which the leading reformers were assembled. The reformed, on the other side, armed in defence of their lives: and the most serious consequences were to be apprehended. Happily however the assailants were brought to a pause by the determined spirit manifested by those against whom they had vowed vengeance: and, by the zealous interference of some merchants of Friburg who happened to be present, peace was restored. It is to the credit of the reformed that they shewed the utmost readiness to listen to the overtures of the Friburgers, demanding nothing but to be permitted to live in peace; while the priests urged on their followers to acts of violence with such fury as made those strangers declare, that, though Romanists themselves, they would rather take their part with the reformed than with the priests.—The people at length, wrought upon by what they heard and witnessed, came to the rational conclusion, "That it would be extreme folly in them to cut one another's throats to please the clergy: and that, if the latter had differences with the reformed, the two parties should be left to settle them between themselves—the proper way of doing which would be to dispute from the scriptures, and not to fight with the sword."

Each party gave hostages to keep the peace, and the council the next day prescribed and published the terms which were to be observed between them. But treaties could at best only for a time tie their hands, while their hearts were alienated, and their differences were so material; the one party being resolved, if possible, to maintain the profitable monopoly they had hitherto enjoyed, and their opponents bent on dissolving it. Accordingly we soon read of fresh tumults, in one of which a canon of the cathedral church, who, clad in complete armour, had been the principal instigator of the disturbance,

lost his life. This fact excited loud outcries, and demands of ample vengeance, not only on the part of the relations of the deceased, but from the inhabitants of Friburg, of which place he had been a burgess. The Friburgers wished to make the event the occasion of definitively excluding the reformation from Geneva, and even to bind the citizens by oath to make no changes in religion; while the Bernese wisely recommended toleration and liberty of conscience as the only means of appeasing the discords that existed. And this remedy they at length placed upon its true and solid ground—namely, “that at the day of judgment each individual shall answer for his own faith alone, and not for that of another.”

The Friburgers thought that it might promote their views, if the bishop of Geneva, with the concurrence of the people, should revisit the city, from which he had now been some years absent. The Genevese felt themselves in duty bound to welcome him, both as their spiritual superintendent and, in a certain sense, their prince: and they accordingly gave him a reception becoming his rank. But, his conduct among them evincing a design to usurp authority which did not belong to him, and in fact to acquire the sovereignty, he met with merited resistance. He in consequence withdrew at the end of fifteen days, no more to return to the place. So long as he and the duke of Savoy were competitors for the same supremacy in Geneva, and while the bishop had any hope of securing that preeminence for himself, he chose to act independently of the duke: but, that hope having now failed, he henceforth united his fortunes with those of Savoy.

The bishop had not however quitted Geneva with an avowal of these hostile intentions: rather he had held out a promise shortly to return. Accordingly he continued to address letters and episcopal mandates to the city. One of these, prohibiting any



changes to be made in the accustomed mode of preaching, had the effect of drawing from the council an order, "that only the gospel should be preached, and nothing delivered from the pulpit which could not be proved from scripture"—an order which was the never-failing indication of the progress of reformed principles. Another mandate, which he desired to have "published with the sound of the trumpet," prohibited "the reading of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue." It was followed the beginning of the next year by one from his grand vicar, commanding all persons who possessed copies of the Bible, either in the French or the German tongue, "to burn them immediately, under pain of excommunication." But it was now too late to issue such injunctions at Geneva: and the impious order only produced effects the reverse of those which were intended. But well may the historian demand, "Was ever such a proceeding heard of among the followers of Mahomet or Zoroaster, or under any other profession of religion? It has been reserved exclusively for men calling themselves Christian priests, but who are assuredly 'wolves in sheep's clothing,' to command the books which they themselves acknowledge as sacred—God's merciful gift to mankind teaching them the way to eternal life—to be committed to the flames. Yet such atrocities have been renewed in our own days. Infidels will surely rise up in the judgment against such Christians, and will condemn them."<sup>1</sup>

The advent preacher of this year, Guy Furbiti, a Dominican and a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had been invited by the clergy, caused a considerable ferment by his invectives against the reformers, and by the consequences which followed from them. Froment and Alexander Camus, or Du Moulin, were present at one of his sermons, and offered to confute

<sup>1</sup> Buchat.

him. But the former was obliged to conceal himself, and the latter being expelled the city, and going into France some time after received the crown of martyrdom at Paris. The Bernese took up the quarrel, and insisted on Furbiti's being called to account, and required to prove his doctrine from the holy scriptures; in which case some of the reformed divines would be ready to meet him. The council of Geneva distrusted their own authority to adopt any such proceeding, and did not at last accede to it without many apologies to the grand vicar, protesting that they acted from necessity and not from choice. Furbiti also long resisted, and denied that he could lawfully submit to such a demand without the permission of his superiors. He at length however altered his opinion, and consented to enter into discussion with Farel, or Viret, or both. A disputation accordingly followed, which lasted three days, and was carried on with considerable spirit and acuteness, on the supremacy of the pope, the power of the church, and other points. The discussion ended with Furbiti's promising, in case he were permitted to preach again, to make reparation to those whom he had offended. He was accordingly sentenced to retract his errors in the pulpit, and agreed to do so. But, when placed there for the purpose, he did the very reverse: in consequence of which he was committed to prison.

This disputation had been interrupted after the second day by a violent tumult, in which a reformed citizen was murdered in his shop, and two persons, whom the canons had endeavoured to conceal, were tried and executed as the murderers. One of them was a secretary of the bishop's: and his papers disclosed the carrying on of secret intelligence, on the part of the bishop and the duke of Savoy, with persons in the city, for the subversion of its liberties. The bishop pretended to inhibit the proceedings against his secretary; but his inhibition met with the regard it deserved: and the discoveries now

made did much to destroy his remaining power and influence in the city.

These transactions had kept the deputies of Berne a considerable time at Geneva, and they had with them, as part of their retinue, the reformed preachers Farel, Viret, and Froment, who constantly preached in their lodgings. This indeed subjected them to considerable reproach as holding conventicles: and a lent preacher, Francis Coutelier, a Franciscan, not having very faithfully kept his engagement to the council, to abstain from inculcating the worship of the Virgin, the invocation of saints, purgatory, and prayers to the dead, and, generally, whatever could not be proved from scripture: the deputies urged these considerations, together with that of settling the public mind on subjects respecting which information was desired, as reasons why their ministers should have a church assigned them to preach in. In vain did the council answer, that they had no power to grant this privilege; that it belonged exclusively to the bishop or his vicar: the urgency of the Bernese so far prevailed that the council at length declared, that, as they could not authorize, so neither would they obstruct the indulgence sought by their allies. Nothing more was necessary. Farel was that very day conducted by a numerous body of the citizens to the convent of the Franciscans, and in their church for the first time publicly preached the doctrine of the reformation on Sunday, March 1st, 1534.

For some time it had been becoming more and more evident that Geneva must make its choice between its two allies, Berne and Friburg, which of them it would retain and which it would sacrifice. So great was the difference between them on the now generally interesting subject of religion, that it would clearly be impossible to preserve the friendship of both. In these circumstances the connexion with Berne must naturally or even necessarily be

preferred, both because of the greater power of that state, the heavy debts owing to it from Geneva, and the increasing inclination of the people towards that system of religion which it supported. The Friburghers perceiving this, and thoroughly dissatisfied with the late proceedings, now formally cancelled their treaties, and renounced that alliance which had subsisted between them and the Genevese for eight years. Many Roman-catholic inhabitants also at this time withdrew from the city, some of whom joined the bishop and the duke—prepared to wage war against their country. The consequence was, that, notwithstanding some slight disorders, occasioned as before by the hostility of the reformed against altars and images, a more peaceable state of things ensued within the city than had been known for a considerable time past.

But, though the city enjoyed greater peace within its walls from the late changes, it was now cruelly harassed from without. The duke, the bishop, and those citizens who had lately withdrawn, from hostility to the reformation, all united their efforts, and they were sometimes seconded by those members of the same party who still remained within. The two former made repeated attempts, one while to seize the city by surprise, at others to reduce it by cutting off its supplies, and by intercepting those who were found going in or coming out. Many of the gentry of Savoy and the Pays de Vaud collected their dependents, and laid waste the surrounding country. The malcontents who had left the city, having posted themselves in the neighbouring castle of Peney, thence infested the Genevese with every species of robbery and barbarity. Partly perhaps to justify the atrocities thus committed, the bishop, and afterwards, at the solicitation of the duke of Savoy, the pope, issued excommunications against the people of Geneva and all who should *succour them*. The Genevese treated the bishop's

excommunication with contempt; and they might have done the same by that of the pope, but for the encouragement it afforded to some of their neighbours still further to molest them.

In the midst of these proceedings, the bishop removed his episcopal council, and his judicial court from Geneva to Gex, a town under the dominion of the duke of Savoy. The council, having opposed the removal without being regarded, came to the solemn resolution, "that, as the bishop had abandoned the city to unite himself with its most deadly foe, and had undertaken divers enterprises against it, even to the length of levying war, they could no longer regard him as the pastor of the people, but as a declared enemy." They pronounced therefore that he had abdicated his authority, and that the episcopal chair was vacant—adding a formal appeal against him to the pope.

Another source of very considerable loss and suffering, though a noble sacrifice to civil and religious liberty, to which existing circumstances, and the apprehension of having to sustain a regular siege, compelled the Genevese to submit, was the voluntary demolition of all the suburbs of their town, with the exception of that of S. Gervais, which they resolved to fortify with the ruins of the others. They thus sacrificed, besides private buildings, two parish churches out of seven, and three monasteries out of five, which had adorned or deformed their city. Ruchat here expresses his admiration that so small a state could ever support all the expences, and hold out against all the hardships, to which it was subjected.

All this time the Bernese failed not, by means of counsel and of every diplomatic exertion in their favour, to assist the people of Geneva: but their own circumstances rendered it necessary to avoid, if possible, having recourse to arms: and they urged their harassed ally to act upon the same plan, wherever

self-defence did not absolutely require the contrary. To proposals from the duke of Savoy, seconded by the recommendation of the assembled cantons, that the Genevese should agree to a truce, and suffer the bishop and the duke to return to the exercise of their rights, the council soon after replied, "That they were resolved to sacrifice their property, their distinctions, their very children, and their own lives for the word of God: and that they would rather with their own hands set fire to the four corners of the city, than part with so precious and sacred a treasure for themselves and their families."

Such an answer shewed, what was unquestionably the fact, that, amidst all the troubles with which the city was environed, the reformation was making most decided progress, and advancing towards a full and final establishment. The proportion of its friends to its opponents continually increased, by the conversion of some and the secession of others among the latter, and also by the influx of those who fled from the persecutions in France. Of the four syndics three now professed the reformed faith: and a decided majority of the council was on the same side. This governing body however persevered to the last, though pressed alike by the preachers and the people, in proceeding very gradually and with great caution. Farel, Viret, and Froment remained at Geneva, and preached regularly in the church of the Franciscans de Rive, and in that of S. Germain. The council further provided a favourable preacher to deliver the lent sermons in the year 1535.

A formidable attempt was however about this time made to cut off at one stroke the three reformed ministers. They all lived together in the house of Claude Bernard. A woman was suborned to come over from Lyons, under the pretence of quitting her country for her religion's sake: and she entered into the service of Bernard. Here, it is affirmed, she first destroyed the life of her mistress, and then



mixed poison in a dish on which the three ministers were expected to dine. Happily Viret alone partook of it : but it nearly cost him his life at the time, and to the end of his days he is supposed to have suffered from the effects it produced upon his constitution. The woman suffered death for her crime : and in her examinations she accused a canon, of the name of Dorsières, and a priest, if not also some of higher rank in the church, as her instigators. The canon was allowed to clear himself on oath, and the other charges were suppressed. The three ministers were henceforth lodged, by order of the council, in the Franciscan convent, where they were accustomed to preach : and this change was productive of important consequences ; for (what was no unfavourable testimony to the character and conduct of their guests,) the greater part of the inmates of the convent, and among them the guardian, embraced the reformed faith.

One of this body now adopted a measure which proved the finishing step in the establishment of the reformation. The person referred to was James Bernard, a citizen of good family, who had been a zealous defender of the old religion ; but whose intercourse with Farel had led him to a conviction of his errors ; so that he had determined to renounce the monastic life. He thought however it might be satisfactory and useful, before he took that step, to promote a public discussion at Geneva, such as had with so good effect taken place in other parts. He proposed therefore to maintain, against all who might choose to come forward, a series of theses asserting the principal protestant tenets, in opposition to the errors of the Romanists. The council of Geneva, having made much progress since the time of Furbiti, highly approved the proposal of Bernard, and used every means to promote the discussion. They themselves undertook to make the necessary arrangements ; had the theses printed and

published; invited men of learning, generally, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, to assist, promising to afford full protection and freedom of speech; appointed eight members of their own body to preside, and four secretaries to take down all that should pass.—The bishop on the contrary did all in his power to prevent or obstruct the meeting, forbidding the clergy of his diocese to attend, under pain of excommunication. The dispute however was held in the great hall of the Franciscans, and lasted from the 30th of May to the 24th of June, Bernard himself, assisted by Farel and Viret, taking the lead on the one side, and on the other Peter Caroli a doctor of the Sorbonne, and John Chapuis a Dominican of Geneva. At the end, both Caroli and Chapuis acknowledged themselves vanquished, and declared publicly their conversion to the reformed faith.—Caroli will claim our attention again. He was an unsound character, and afterwards relapsed to popery.

The effect of this discussion is described as being astonishing. Almost the whole city went over to the reformed, and among them numbers of ecclesiastics, both monks and priests. Some additional persons indeed retired from the place, either into Savoy, or to join the bishop in Burgundy: and there seemed no much reason to apprehend that the canons might withdraw, and take with them the moveable goods and the writings of the cathedral, that the council ordered an inventory to be taken of these articles, and strict watch to be kept over them.

But, though the public voice had thus decided on the result of the disputation, the council, proceeding still in some degree on its maxims of caution, forbore to pronounce an opinion, or to adopt any definitive measure, though repeatedly pressed upon the subject both by Farel and by many of the citizens. At length however the greater council of two hundred was formally summoned to take the question of religion into consideration. Farel appeared be-

fore it, and, addressing the members in that strain of vivid eloquence for which he was distinguished, entreated them no longer to delay the establishment of that reformation which was now almost universally acknowledged to be necessary, and conformable to the word of God: concluding with a fervent prayer to Almighty God to direct them, on this important occasion, to such measures as should be for his glory and the salvation of the people.—The result was, that, after much deliberation, and some further references to the different convents and the clergy, a general edict was issued, on the 27th of August, 1535, enjoining public worship to be conducted according to the rules of the gospel, and prohibiting all popish idolatry.—From that time forward Farel, who might now be considered as the chief pastor of Geneva, and his colleagues preached without restraint, administered the sacraments, and performed marriages and every kind of religious service, in all the churches: and henceforth the mass was no more publicly celebrated in Geneva. Subsequently indeed the reformed ministers for some time confined themselves to the churches of S. Peter (the cathedral,) and S. Gervais—not being able duly to serve more.

The exposure which followed of fictitious relics, false miracles, and other frauds that had been practised, tended still further to confirm the reformation, and to alienate the minds of the people from the superstition by which they had been so long duped. It is well known what stress the Romish church lays on the sacrament of baptism as necessary to salvation—consigning the souls of infants who die unbaptized to what has been called Limbus. To redeem their children from this dreary and mysterious abode, parents had been willing to make costly offerings; and to meet their wishes, or to give the monks the benefit of their liberality, various provisions had been made. Among others it had been happily discovered that deceased infants, brought to the image of the Virgin

in the church of Notre Dame de Grace, were so far restored to life as to be capable of baptism! The hot was, by the arts there practised, some slight motion was given to certain parts of the dead body, or a feather placed on its mouth; when the cry of "A miracle! a miracle!" was immediately raised, baptism was administered to the corpse thus wrought upon, and the worldly object of the interested practitioners, if not the spiritual one of the afflicted parents, was attained.<sup>1</sup>

A change was now made in the religious houses of the city. The monastery of the Franciscans was converted into a public school: the convent of S. Claire into an hospital. The goods of the church and the other religious establishments, after proper provision made for those who by these changes were displaced, were ordered to be applied to the maintenance of the clergy, of schools, and of the poor.

Thus was the reformed religion fully established at Geneva. To commemorate the great event, as well as to supply a want which was urgently felt, the government henceforth exercised anew the right of coining money, (instead of receiving the currency of Savoy,) varying upon it the old motto of their city—"After darkness I hope for light"—to the simpler form, "Light after darkness"—expressive of acknowledgement for hopes fulfilled.

But, though the reformation was thus established at Geneva, the city was not as yet by any means placed in safety from its enemies. On the contrary, the duke of Savoy, enraged at the revolution which was thus completed, prohibited to his subjects all

<sup>1</sup> Among the relics, the arm of S. Anthony was found to be part of the body of a stag, and the brain of S. Peter a pumice stone.—Crabs are said to have been made to crawl about in certain parts of the churches and burying places, having lights attached to them: and these moving wonders, the people were taught to believe, were the souls of their relatives and friends, appearing for the purpose of exciting them to have masses said for their deliverance from purgatory.—*Ruchat*, v. 302—309.

intercourse with Geneva. At the same time he encouraged as many of the inhabitants, as would abandon their apostate country, to settle in his dominions. Instead however of distressing the city by these means, he only relieved it of the malcontents, whose place was soon after rapidly and beneficially supplied by persons from various parts, who were happy to take up their abode in a situation where they could freely exercise their religion, and enjoy many other advantages. So far therefore this little state was strengthened rather than weakened by the measures which he adopted against it.

But the extent to which the duke carried the blockade of the place, both by land and water, became for the time to a high degree distressing and dangerous. This was for several ensuing months the subject of incessant applications to Berne, and of incessant negotiations between Berne and the duke, as well as of such feeble efforts to relieve themselves as the Genevese could make. The Bernese certainly shewed no forwardness to wage war upon the duke, though they were likely to be the gainers, and did ultimately prove gainers to a great extent, by that measure. On the contrary, they carried their perseverance in negotiation to the extreme of weakness, when it had become manifest that the duke merely sought to gain time till the city should fall into his hands through the pressure of want, or be reduced by the forces which he hoped to receive from his brother-in-law the emperor.<sup>1</sup> At length however they were roused, when they found that the duke kept none of his promises; that the situation of their ally was becoming extremely critical; and that even some places pertaining in common to themselves and their neighbours of Friburg were not spared by the marquis of Muss, who was glad to carry on a marauding warfare<sup>2</sup> against the reformed Swiss under

<sup>1</sup> They had each married a daughter of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 202.

cover of the duke's service. And when they did act, it must be confessed, they acted with vigour. On the 13th of January, 1536, they came to the resolution of declaring war. The next day they despatched a notice of their determination and the reasons of it to the Swiss cantons, to prevent jealousy or misunderstanding on their part. Their declaration of war was issued on the 16th, and the 22d fixed for the march of their troops: and on that very day their army set out from Berne, six or seven thousand strong. On the second of February it arrived at Geneva, having met with nothing to delay it on the road, except receiving the submission of the towns near which it passed. The Savoyards fled before them: and it is needless to say with what joy the Genevese welcomed their deliverers. Their halt at the city was however of short continuance. The next day but one they proceeded in pursuit of the enemy. But the further prosecution of the war was needless against the hapless duke, who now paid the full penalty of his tyranny and cruelty. The Vallaisans, having suffered much from his injustice, seized the opportunity of avenging themselves, and recovering the places which he had wrested from them: and, worse than all, the king of France, who, besides other grounds of quarrel, found the possession of Savoy necessary to the execution of his purposes against Milan, (the subject of protracted contest between him and the emperor,) commenced hostilities, and rushed into his territories. Thus the unhappy duke was driven from his dominions, no more to return to them.—He retired to Vercelli, where seventeen years afterwards he ended his days.

The Bernese on their return again visited Geneva, and shewed some disposition to claim the same rights and authority there as had legally and properly pertained to the duke and the bishop—the latter considered in *his civil capacity*: but the Genevese reminded *them what the citizens had suffered for ten years past*

to escape being under the yoke of a master, by submitting to which they might have been spared all these troubles; and acknowledged how generously Berne had succoured them in their long-continued struggles; and that, by the favour of God and the assistance of that state, their enemies had now melted away like snow. They entreated them therefore not to tarnish the lustre of their noble and liberal services, by a demand which tended to defeat the great object for which the arduous contest had been carried on, but to crown their own glory by placing their ally in the unfettered enjoyment of liberty and independence. The demand was in consequence not pressed: the army finally quitted Geneva, February 18: (less than a month from the time when it had set out from Berne;) and soon after every point in question between the two states was amicably settled. Thus did Geneva achieve the independence which it has so long retained: and the government caused a monument to be erected and inscriptions to be set up commemorative of the happy event.

One of the first uses that the Genevese made of the liberty and security, which were the well-earned reward of their protracted struggles, was to carry forward the reformation of religion towards perfection. Such a work could not but continue in a very immature state amid the agitations which had prevailed. Great discords existed even among those who professed the reformed doctrine, some being inclined to carry the changes introduced further than others; which led the two parties to reproach one another with insincerity or lukewarmness on the one hand, or with a misguided zeal on the other. Much heartburning and discontent had also arisen by reason of the losses incurred by the demolition of the suburbs. Farel and his coadjutors in the ministry contributed their best endeavours, in coöperation with the government, to allay these uneasinesses

and as far as possible to give general satisfaction on all disputed points: and they appear to have been as successful as could reasonably be expected. The council next proceeded to regulate the times and places of public worship, the observation of the sabbath, and other things connected with religion and morals. They established and provided for four pastors and two assistants; commanded the sabbath to be strictly observed; appointed an early service on that day for the benefit of servants; and allowed public worship and preaching in the German and Italian languages, for the numerous refugees to whom those tongues were vernacular. They enacted laws against profaneness and licentiousness, and against public dances, fairs, masquerades, and other entertainments tending to the corruption of manners.<sup>1</sup> They shewed due solicitude also for the education of youth: and for this end established in the late convent of the Franciscans a public school, at the head of which was placed Anthony Saunier, a friend and fellow-countryman of Farel. On the same day that the decree was passed for the establishment of the school, the whole body of the citizens were called upon to take a solemn oath to renounce popish rites and errors, and to live according to the rules of the gospel. Some want of tolerance was shewn in punishing Roman-catholic priests who remained in the city, and were detected from time to time in saying mass, and administering the sacraments after the manner of their church; and even those who went abroad to other places in the neighbourhood to attend these ceremonies.

At the urgent instance of Farel, means were now adopted for spreading the reformation around Geneva, particularly in those small dependencies which the city had acquired by its final settlement with Berne. The priests and curès were called before the

<sup>1</sup> This was previous to the arrival of Calvin.



council, and, in the presence of the reformed ministers and a numerous assemblage, interrogated as to their willingness to comply with the form of religion established at Geneva. Some assented, many refused, and one, in particular, on behalf of himself and his brethren, pleaded for some delay, that opportunity might be given them of acquiring fuller information. The sagacious Bonnivard (now released from the castle of Chillon, where the duke of Savoy had for five years imprisoned him, in reward for his patriotic zeal,) recommended that the demand should be complied with; and that the council should make it their aim to enlighten, not to force, the consciences of these men, most justly remarking, "Should they shew themselves so flexible as to pass from one religion to the other at your bidding, you can have no assurance that they will not, on another occasion, as lightly turn back to their old profession."—At the close of the month these persons in general concurred in the proposed changes. From various circumstances however it appears, that this conversion of the country was too hasty and too interested to be very sound.

The last transaction which we shall here notice relative to Geneva is the publication of a Confession of Faith, drawn up at this time by Farel, and sanctioned by the council in the month of November, 1536. It was comprised in twenty-one articles; and it presents the same view of doctrine which pervades the other formularies of the era of the reformation.

The consequences of the short war waged by the Bernese with the duke of Savoy were very important, as it permanently transferred to the former power the sovereignty of the greater part of the Pays de Vaud, and some other districts distinguished from it by little more than names which need not be here recited. This might be partly by right of war, but it seems to have been chiefly by that right giving effect

to previous treaties, by which the country had been pledged to Berne and Friburg, save upon conditions which the duke was either unwilling or unable to fulfil. Throughout the territory which thus accrued to them, the Bernese made it their first care to introduce that reformation of which they were the zealous supporters. When the way had been sufficiently prepared, the whole change contemplated was established by a general edict, passed December 24, 1536, and published throughout the territory the beginning of the following year. The fault of this measure was, that it made too great haste, and attempted too much. It did not allow sufficient space for men's understandings to be informed and their judgments convinced. Time, however, and instruction, and the blessing of God upon well-meant though sometimes mistaken measures, effected what mere authority could not, and finally established the reformation of the Pays de Vaud.

Lausanne and its territory are to be included among the places in which the reformation was thus established. This city could boast, beside its bishop, a chapter of thirty-two canons, a convent of Franciscans and another of Dominicans, and five parish churches. The bishop, (like his brother of Geneva,) in addition to his spiritual power, possessed a degree of princely authority in the place—though the concurrence of the three estates of the clergy, the nobles, and the citizens with him was necessary to the enactment of laws. But, with all the provision thus made for its religious improvement, Lausanne, with the surrounding country, appears to have been sunk even below the customary ignorance, superstition, and vice of the times. Here, as at Geneva and in other parts, the contempt which the clergy drew upon themselves by their debaucheries seems to have produced the first leaning towards reformation: *though, as far as the year 1535, we find no other distinct trace of such an inclination, than an edict*

against those who neglected the accustomed restrictions on the use of animal food at certain seasons. Lausanne, however, like Geneva, had been ten years in alliance with Berne and Friburg: and, much to the displeasure of its bishop, it had contributed its quota of troops to the former in the war of Cappel. After the disastrous termination of that war, the bishop attempted to carry a law prohibiting all mention whatever to be made of the reformers or their doctrine; but the citizens rejected the proposal: When the war of Berne against Savoy commenced, Lausanne again aided its ally; but the bishop, who, in the circumstances in which he was placed, ought by all means to have continued neutral, reckoned with such confidence on the success of the duke, and on being able by his assistance to render himself absolute in the city, that he committed himself on the other side. His rashness cost him his bishopric; for Berne, having triumphed over the duke, turned its arms against the bishop, who fled away no more to return to his see. The Bernese seized his temporalities, and among them that principality which he had enjoyed in Lausanne. The arrangements which they made with the citizens appear to have been not inequitable, and they proved in the main satisfactory. Liberty of conscience was by these regulations allowed to both parties, the reformed and the Romanists. During the progress of the war we find Viret preaching at Lausanne with acceptance, and the council permitting as many as pleased to hear him, and even assigning him the use of the Dominican church.

Many circumstances now conspired to make the rulers of Berne think it highly expedient that a public disputation should be held within the limits of their new dominions: and they accordingly gave notice of a meeting for the purpose, to take place at Lausanne on the first of October; with every proper encouragement to persons from all quarters to

to it, and Farel prepared ten theses for discussion. The meeting was held in the cathedral, and lasted eight successive days. The principal managers on the part of the reformed were Viret, and Peter Caroli. Calvin was present, spoke twice, on the subject of the sacrament. On the other side, the canons of Lausanne contented themselves with twice protesting against the meeting which they withdrew. A French physician named Claude Blancherose, who had settled at Lausanne, was the principal spokesman of their

On the whole the cause of popery seems to have been as well supported as on any former occasion of the kind.—Farel and Viret also both shewed readiness and acuteness, and an intimate acquaintance with the scriptures. Their doctrine was sound and good. The theses discussed embraced all the principal points at issue between the two parties; but the leading article, on justification, was at which was most fully debated; and from the result of the discussion we will present a few particulars, for the purpose of shewing how precisely Viret and Viret, authorities almost new to us, maintain the same doctrine on this fundamental point as Luther and Melancthon, Zwingle, Calvin, and others.

Viret's statement of the doctrine, in introducing the thesis, may be thus abridged. "Holy Scriptures teach us, that which is 'given by inspiration of God,' knows no other way of justification than by faith of Jesus Christ; and this justification is nothing else than the forgiveness of sin.<sup>1</sup> God *justifies*, that is, he holds us as innocent and righteous. 'Who shall lay imputation to the charge of God's elect? It is God who justifies.'—And this justification comes only through Jesus Christ. 1. It is certain that all men are naturally 'children of wrath:' but God has 'so

that it is quite distinct from *sanctification*, which the church of Geneva up with it, and makes in part, at least, the ground of it.

loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life:’ and Christ says, ‘He that believeth on me hath everlasting life; and my blood is shed for the remission of sins.’ 2. S. Paul has shewn that we cannot be justified even by works which God has commanded: how much less then by those which only the commandments of men have enjoined? 3. The apostle proves his doctrine from the case of the most eminent saint, Abraham, whose ‘faith was imputed to him for righteousness.’ 4. Those who speak otherwise, not only destroy faith, but make ‘grace to be no more grace:’ for, ‘to him who worketh’ for it, the reward ‘is not reckoned of grace.’ 5. The apostle S. John discovers no other saints in heaven than those who have been purified by the blood of Christ.—To Jesus Christ then alone must we betake ourselves, ‘weary and heavy laden,’ to obtain all the grace and mercy we need. ‘No man cometh to the Father but by him.’ Those, who seek these blessings any where else than in him, deprive themselves altogether of the benefit of Christ; as S. Paul shews when arguing against the joining of circumcision with Christ.—As to the nature of faith, by which ‘the just shall live,’ it is a sure trust in Christ, by which we receive the Spirit of Christ, are engrafted into him, and made the children of God. This faith cannot be without fruit, which all those who are united as branches to the living vine bring forth. The Spirit of Christ, which is in them that believe, brings forth ‘the fruits of the Spirit.’<sup>1</sup> Jesus Christ is made our ‘sanctification:’<sup>2</sup> and by union with him we are brought to serve God with all purity.”<sup>3</sup> To shew that before the coming of Christ the saints lived by faith in him, Farel caused the xith chapter of Hebrews to be read at length; and then observed, that it was necessary

<sup>1</sup> Galat. v. 22.<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. i. 30.<sup>3</sup> Rom. vi.

that this "righteousness of faith" should be fully preached and received by all, 1. for the glory of God, to whom belongs all the praise of our justification; which *they* cannot ascribe to him, who do not acknowledge that we are all polluted and sinners before him: and 2. for our safety; that, rejecting all opinion of merit, we may be assured of this righteousness which we have by faith, since all our righteousnesses can bring only a curse from God. But, if we learn that all our sins are covered by the righteousness of Christ, and that we are rendered perfect (as to justification) by his perfection, through the sole mercy of God, then we have true assurance and peace in our souls.

Blancherose objected, "If we are thus saved by faith, without works, we may do, instead of good, all the evil we can." "He," replied Farel, "who understands the doctrine, and has the experience of a true faith, cannot thus speak from his heart. See the poor sinner, guilty before God, and exposed to eternal death, but understanding that God, of his great bounty and mercy, having compassion on the man that could neither make satisfaction nor effect his escape, has given his own Son for the guilty; that his Son has borne the penalty of the sinner; so that because the sinner confides in Jesus, and believes that he has suffered to save him, and that the Father, for the sake of this satisfaction made by his Surety, pardons his sins: the man who believes this astonishing grace of God, having the Spirit of God, which is given to every true believer—how shall he live in sin, and offend him from whom he has received such unspeakable favours?.... Thus does this objection fall to the ground—which proceeds from ignorance of the nature and power of a true faith, and of the operation of the Spirit of God, which is given us by his grace. For from a living and justifying faith follow good works: and it is by this faith, without any good works having preceded, that we are justified

—as saith the apostle.” He then caused Romans iii, from the ninth verse to the end, to be read.—Here Blancherose could not believe that what he had heard was really part of the sacred text, till he was convinced from an ancient manuscript copy belonging to the library of the Franciscans: when he exclaimed, “It is true then that we are justified by faith: and the thesis is right: for the apostle says, We are not saved ‘by works of righteousness which we have done, but God, according to his mercy, saves us.’”

The disputation of Lausanne operated powerfully in favour of the reformation. Many of the proceedings of Berne for the introduction of a new system into French Switzerland, which have been referred to, were subsequent to it, and derived material aid from it. Several persons who had taken part in the discussion were convinced by the arguments of the reformers, and joined their party.—In less than a month after the conclusion of this dispute, in spite of all the opposition which the canons could give to such a measure, the citizens of Lausanne openly embraced the reformation, and on the recommendation of Berne received Peter Caroli for their first minister. Viret, it is observed, as having been the principal instrument in effecting this change, and at the same time a man of high character and talent, ought to have had this appointment; but he was only twenty-five years of age, and respect was had to the superior rank and standing of Caroli. It was however but a very short time that the latter retained his situation. Within a few months, taking occasion from a pique conceived against Calvin, Farel, and Viret, he began to shew a distaste for the reformers and the reformation. He brought charges of Arianism and other heresies against the three individuals just mentioned, and, being unable, as might be expected, to substantiate such accusations, he was compelled, for fear of the consequences of his rashness and malevolence, to withdraw into France,

deserting his wife as well as his station in the church : and there, before the cardinal of Tournon, he abjured his profession of the reformed faith. Viret succeeded to his vacant situation.

Of Viret, now established as first pastor of Lausanne, we may here give a short biographical sketch.

As we have already seen, he was born at Orbe in the year 1511, and studied at Paris. At twenty years of age he laboured successfully in the cause of reformation in his native town and in some neighbouring parts. At twenty three he rendered no unimportant service to the reformation of Geneva ; and two years afterwards sustained a principal part in the disputation of Lausanne. The next year he became pastor, and continued in that post till the year 1559, except for a short interval that he supplied Calvin's place at Geneva. From some dissatisfaction with the state of things at Lausanne, he at length yielded to an earnest invitation given him to remove to Lyons ; where he exercised his ministry with great success. He preached in the open air, and wherever opportunity offered : and was, we are told, the instrument of " the conversion of thousands ;" his eloquence being, according to Beza, of the most winning and ingratiating kind. He continued at Lyons till an edict of government, forbidding any protestant minister who was not a native of the kingdom to officiate in France, compelled him to withdraw. On this he removed to Orange and Bearn, under the government and by the invitation of the queen of Navarre ; and died there, closing his life in a very happy and edifying manner, in the year 1571, at the age of sixty years. He was a man naturally of a feeble and delicate habit, and his health had been seriously injured both by the poison administered to him at Geneva, and before that time by the severe wounds which had been inflicted on him by a priest at Payerne. It may rather surprise us when we hear this to be at the same time informed, that, in addition to his active



labours in the ministry, he was the author of numerous works, distinguished, Ruchat assures us, "by a very high degree of erudition, and knowledge of antiquity, sacred and profane, Greek and Latin; a profound acquaintance with the sacred scriptures; and a rich vein of pious ardor."

Shortly before the desertion of Caroli, a synod of the clergy of the Pays Romand, as far as it was subject to Berne, had been called at Lausanne, and a regular ecclesiastical distribution of the country into seven districts effected; wholesome regulations both for the clergy and the people being established. —Another general synod was held in the year 1538, at which reports, not of the most gratifying nature, concerning the state of the country were received, and various regulations adopted—to which the government of Berne endeavoured to give effect by a decree. But the only point which need be here distinctly noticed is, the condition on which Geneva was invited to send Calvin and Farel to the synod—namely; that the church of Geneva should agree to receive the same ceremonies as that of Berne, with respect to, 1. the observance of the four festivals of Christmas, New Year, the Annunciation, and the Ascension; 2. the use of stone fonts for baptism; and, 3. the use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper. A difference on these trivial points, it seems, had produced a shyness between the clergy of the dependencies of Berne and those of Geneva: and the council of the former place now insisted on concession to their usage as the term of admission to the synod—though, as they expressly avowed, only for the sake of peace and uniformity, and to avoid the calumnies of their enemies. But this question was connected with results of some moment, as we shall see, in the history of Calvin.

Another important step taken at this time, which the exigencies of the country, whether with respect to learning, or to a supply of competent ministers,

loudly called for, was the establishment first of a public school, and afterwards of an academy or university at Lausanne. This was accomplished under the auspices of the government of Berne, who endowed the new institution from the funds of the church and the religious houses. It subsists to this day: and, according to Ruchat, (himself a professor there,) it effected more within a few years for enlightening the population, than the numerous rich foundations of the country had done in the course of ten preceding centuries. Conrad Gesner, from Zurich, was appointed first professor of Greek in the year 1537; and the admirable Celio Secundo Curio was principal of the college and professor of Belles Lettres from 1542 to 1546. Beza was appointed professor of Greek in 1549, and continued in that office for ten years, till he removed to Geneva to join Calvin, and to be placed at the head of the academy formed there through his influence. John l'Epaule, or Scapula, held the same office at Lausanne in 1579; and Henry Stephen in 1592: and many other eminent men have given celebrity to this institution.

## CHAPTER X.

*History of Calvin.*

As Calvin was now established at Geneva, and will be the principal figure on the canvas throughout the remainder of our volume, it will be proper here to introduce him to the reader by some detail of his earlier history.

John Cauvin, Chauvin, or, according to the form which his name has taken from the Latin version of it, Calvin, was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10, 1509. His father, Gerard, and his mother, whose maiden name was Jeanne Franc, were persons of moderate fortune, and well respected by those among whom they lived. The former possessed a degree of judgment and address in the management of business, which commended him to the neighbouring gentry and nobility; whence his son received his early education with the children of a family of rank—the Mommors—though still at his father's expence. He accompanied or followed these young persons to study at Paris, and had there for his Latin tutor, in the Collège de la Marche, Mathurin Cordier, still well known in some of our schools under the name of Cordery. Cordier was eminent as a teacher, and also as a man of piety. He embraced the reformed doctrine, and removed successively to Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Geneva; at which last place he died six months after his distinguished pupil, at the

advanced age of eighty-five, having continued his labours as a teacher, in the public school or college, to the end of his days. Passing from the Collège de la Marche to that of Montaigu, Calvin had for his tutor a learned Spaniard, under whom he made rapid progress in logic and other liberal arts, as well as in grammatical studies. From his early age he was noted as a religious youth, and a somewhat stern reprovcr of vice among his companions. His father had destined him for the church, and hence, according to the corrupt practice of the times, had obtained for him at the early age of twelve years a benefice in the gift of the bishop, styled the chapelry of la Gesine, in the cathedral of Noyon. He afterwards held successively the parochial cures of Marteville, and of his father's native town of Pont l'Evêque, in the neighbourhood: and in the latter of these places, at least, young Calvin is related to have delivered discourses to the people, without having otherwise received any orders, under the papal hierarchy, than by simple tonsure, performed by the bishop; which is in the Romish church the first step of holy orders, and may be received at the age of seven years. His original destination was however for a time changed; and he applied himself to the study of the civil law. This change was made by the choice of the father rather than of the son; the former conceiving that the law opened a surer road than the church to riches and honours. Calvin himself informs us that he was at this time much "addicted to the superstitions of the papacy:" but he ere long received from his relative, Peter Robert Olivetan, or d'Olivet, some more just views of religion, and began to apply himself to the study of the scriptures.

Calvin prosecuted his studies in the civil law under Peter de Stella, or de l'Etoile, a celebrated professor at Orleans: and such was his reputation that he was frequently called to supply the place

of the different professors in their absence; when about to leave this university his doctor's degree was offered him, free of charge, by the common consent of all the authorities. He at the same time prosecuted with great earnestness his study of the sacred scriptures; and, from the opinion entertained of his piety and his theological knowledge, he became the centre of attraction to various persons who in that neighbourhood began to take an interest in religious inquiry. Indeed according to a hostile historian, Varillas here succeeded in turning many to the new faith. His intense application to study at this period, the progress which he made, are celebrated by his friends: but at the same time with the acknowledgment, that he probably then laid the foundation of that weakness and disorder of the digestive power which made him a sufferer through life, and perhaps materially shortened his days. From Orleans he proceeded to the academy of Bourges, to avail himself of the lectures of Andrew Alciati, a Milanese esteemed the first lawyer of the age, who had been invited thither from Italy. Here also he enjoyed and profited by the acquaintance of Melchior Wolmar, a native of Rothweil in Suabia, and a man of eminent piety and learning, who was the preceptor from childhood to mature age of the celebrated Beza. Wolmar had imbibed the reformed principles, and now professed the Latin and Greek languages at Bourges under the patronage of the duchess of Berri, afterwards queen of Navarre. Under him Calvin laid the foundation of his skill in the Greek language and literature. He at the same time applied himself to the Hebrew and Syriac in order to the better understanding of the Old Testament—for still theology was the favourite object of his attention; and we here again read of

<sup>1</sup> Lutheran Reformation, ii. p. 56.

delivering discourses to the people in the neighbouring small town of Linières.

Every step in the training of so great and influential a character becomes interesting: and we can scarcely fail to trace the hand of providence forming him for his future destination. First, his connexion with the church of Rome is carried far enough to give him a competent insight into her corrupt system:<sup>1</sup> then the means are provided for weakening and at length breaking that connexion. His studies in the law must have contributed much to qualify him for what he afterwards became, almost the legislator, civil as well as ecclesiastical, of Geneva. And then, lastly, theology after all supremely attracts his attention; and thus he is brought round to devote himself to the service of the church for which he had been originally intended, though with a variation in the line of service which had not entered into the contemplation of either himself or his friends.

From Bourges Calvin was recalled to his native place by the sudden death of his father. After a short stay at Noyon he removed again to Paris; where in the year 1532, being then in the twenty-third year of his age, he published his first work—Seneca's treatise *de Clementia* with a continued commentary—perhaps with some hope of inspiring the mind of Francis I. with a distaste for the fires of persecution. The learning and eloquence of this youthful performance are highly commended. Calvin at this time made the acquaintance of an eminent merchant, Stephen de la Forge, to whom he was much attached, and who afterwards suffered martyrdom for the faith: and now also it was that he came to the resolution of abandoning all inferior pursuits to devote himself to the service of God and religion: a determination which we are told gave the highest

<sup>1</sup> In his will he gives thanks to God for "having delivered him from the deep darkness of idolatry, in which he had been plunged."

satisfaction to all those pious persons who privately met together in Paris, to promote their own and each other's spiritual improvement.

It was not long before public attention was in some degree drawn towards him. Nicholas Cop, son of a citizen of Basle who had become physician to the king of France, was then rector of the university of Paris. For him Calvin prepared an oration, to be delivered according to custom on All Saints' day; and introduced into it so much of the reformed principles that it gave high offence to the doctors of the Sorbonne, and through them to the parliament of Paris. The consequence was that the rector was obliged to fly the country; and Calvin and his friends were brought into great danger. He was protected by the queen of Navarre: but he quitted Paris, and retired into Saintonge, to Louis du Tillet, canon of Angoulesme. Here he made himself useful, and attempted to diffuse scriptural truth, by supplying to the neighbouring clergy brief homilies to be recited to their congregations.

At Nerac, not far from Calvin's present residence, there now lived, under the same patronage of the queen of Navarre by which he himself was protected, a venerable and very interesting character, Faber Stapulensis, or James le Fevre of Estaples. He had been professor of mathematics in the university of Paris: but, being a man of enlightened piety, he had, besides introducing great improvements in his own department of the sciences, extended his cares further, and opposed the scholastic theology of the times, seeking to substitute for it a sounder system of instruction. By these means he had drawn upon himself the mortal hatred of the Sorbonne, and had with difficulty escaped the hands of the inquisitors. To this venerable person, now in extreme old age, Calvin paid a visit, which, as it appears to have been very gratifying to the former, so it would no doubt be impressive and edifying to the latter.

de Fevre is said to have formed high anticipations from his youthful friend.

Calvin now again ventured to Paris, notwithstanding the persecutions that prevailed; and there, even at the risk of his life, sought to give the meeting to Servetus, who was already spreading his antitrinitarian heresies, and who professed to desire nothing more earnestly than the opportunity of entering into discussion with Calvin. The time and place for a meeting between them were appointed: but Servetus did not keep his engagement.

The violence of religious persecution in France made Calvin determine to quit his native country: and accordingly, after printing at Orleans a work against the sleep of the soul from death to the resurrection, which is said to display an intimate acquaintance both with the scriptures and the fathers, he departed for Basle, accompanied by his friend Tillet. He took Strasburg in his way, and there contracted an intimate friendship with Capito and Simon Grynaeus, which he continued at Basle, and even till it was terminated by death. At Basle he applied himself diligently to Hebrew literature, and wished to live as retired as possible, for the sake of prosecuting his studies. But circumstances soon called him forth to more public services, and gave occasion to the most celebrated of all his writings. We have before related the inconsistent conduct of Francis I. king of France, in persecuting with unrelenting severity the protestants of his own country, while, for political purposes, he sought closely to ally himself with those of Germany.<sup>1</sup> To appease the resentment which the martyrdoms of January 1535 had excited, he pretended to the German princes that he had done nothing more than put to death a few seditious Anabaptists. Calvin could not silently suffer this imputation to be cast upon the

<sup>1</sup> *Lutheran Reformation*, i. p. 77, 78.



protestants of his native country, and his zeal defend them and exhibit a true representation their principles produced the publication, though first in a more brief and rude form, of his "Institute of the Christian Religion," with the admired preface address to the king of France—which is "such," says Beza, "that, had his own sins and the sin of his people permitted a prince of Francis's excellent judgment to read it, it could hardly have failed to inflict a severe wound on the corrupt church of Rome." Thus among the many observable operations of divine providence it may be noted, that the persecutions and false allegations of the king of France do we owe a work, which not even an candid or reasonable opponent of some of its doctrines will deny to have proved of signal service to the church of God.

After the publication of his Institutes Calvin proceeded to Italy, to visit the celebrated Renée duchess of Ferrara, who, like the queen of Navarre, was the patroness of religion and learning. "He received the most distinguished attentions from the duchess, who was confirmed in the protestant faith by his instructions, and ever after entertained the highest respect for his character and talents."<sup>1</sup>

From Italy, which, says he, "I entered only that I might come out of it," (referring probably to his being more set against popery by what he witnessed in its head quarters,) he returned into France for the last time; and, having settled all his affairs there and taking with him his brother Anthony, he set out anew to take up his abode at Basle or Strasburg. But the war which then raged compelled him to make his route through Dauphiné and Savoy: and thus was he conducted without, or even against, his own inclinations to the destined scene of his future labours, the city of Geneva. Coming to Geneva, he

<sup>1</sup> M'Crie.

as a matter of course visited Farel and Viret. They urged him to stay with them and share their labours, in which they much needed assistance: but he shewed no disposition to comply with the proposal; when, Farel, with the extraordinary confidence and arder which characterized him, thus addressed his guest: "I take upon me to denounce to you in the name of Almighty God, that, if you thus, under the pretext of prosecuting your studies, refuse to labour with us in the work of the Lord, his curse will rest upon you, as a man 'that seeks his own, and not the things of Jesus Christ.'" Such positive decisions, as to the course which other persons ought to pursue, can seldom be properly pronounced, any more than such denunciations uttered. Yet in the present case it cannot reasonably be denied that the result was happy and important: and Calvin would never afterwards durably repent of following the advice given him. Overcome by Farel's urgency, he surrendered himself to the disposal of the consistory and magistrates of Geneva, by whom he was appointed a professor of divinity, and soon after, with the consent of the people, a pastor of the church—an office which at first he would fain have declined. This took place in the month of August, 1536, in the twenty-eighth year of Calvin's age—a year distinguished, as we have seen, by a closer alliance than before subsisted between Geneva and Berne; by the disputation of Lausanne; and by the accession of that city to the number of the reformed.

The situation of Geneva at this time was peculiar; and Calvin soon found that it was no easy or enviable post that he was called to occupy. Various circumstances had concurred to bring things to their present state: the ignorance and superstition which had long prevailed; the extreme corruption of the clergy, which produced its own likeness in the manners of the people; the long and arduous struggle in which the city had been engaged for liberty and

independence, and which could scarcely fail of being attended with much relaxation of discipline; even the happy result of that struggle would naturally for a time work the same effect—since numbers would think themselves entitled, in reward of their services and sufferings, now that they had cast off the yoke of the pope and the duke of Savoy, to be subjected to scarcely any yoke at all, but rather to live according to their own pleasure. Add to this, that many of those who had outwardly acceded to the new form of religion were still in their hearts attached to the discarded system, and were ready to take every opportunity of thwarting and crippling the efforts of the reformers. Party spirit also ran high, and violent feuds existed between families and individuals.—Against all the disorders which arose from these various causes, Calvin, Farel, and Courault (a blind but learned minister, who had zealously contended for the truth, and had been introduced by Calvin first to Basle and then to Geneva,) determinately set themselves. They were strict disciplinarians, as well as avowed enemies to every remnant of popery. In consequence they were soon involved in stormy contests, some of which proved too powerful for them, and for a time drove them all, and two of the three permanently, from their station.

Their first conflict was with the Anabaptists, who began to shew themselves in the city as soon as the reformation was established, and had even acquired partisans in the council. This disorderly sect was however more easily suppressed here than in other places. The reformed ministers entered into a public disputation with them: and the council, being satisfied that they could not maintain their tenets from the scriptures, denounced a sentence of banishment for life against all who should attempt to teach their doctrines at Geneva: a measure which, added to the exposure the party had received in the dis-

putation, proved effectual, and stifled the sect in its birth.

Their next assailant was Peter Caroli, who, as before mentioned, formally brought against them the charge of Arianism and other heresies—a charge which produced more impression, at a time when such multitudes “watched for their halting,” than would have been imagined. The question was brought successively before the synods of Lausanne and Berne, and then before the council of the latter place, which pronounced sentence of banishment against the author of so unfounded and injurious an accusation.

A ~~formulary~~ of Christian doctrine, which appears to have been the confession recently described as ~~Farel's~~,<sup>1</sup> with some articles of discipline annexed, was now published, and soon after followed by a catechism from the pen of Calvin, adapted to the condition of a people who needed instruction in the most elementary parts of religion. Calvin also set himself, in conjunction with Farel and Courault, to induce the citizens at large, in their popular assembly, to abjure popery, and swear to observe the scheme of doctrine and order thus prepared for them: and though it would seem that at that time many refused it, yet in the month of July in the following year (1537) this object was effected.

Many however rebelled against the checks thus attempted to be imposed on them, and against the faithful and somewhat vehement denunciations which their preachers continually uttered against their licentious manners. Courault was even thrown into prison for persevering, after admonition, in his protestations against the supineness of the magistrates in checking these evils. But that which brought matters to a crisis was the following proceeding of the ministers. Finding it impossible to appease, or even to keep under decent restraint, the bitter animos-

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 310.

sities which were cherished between many principal families, they came to the resolution of declaring, that they could not consent to administer the Lord's supper among a people who lived in such enmity one against another, as well as in such breaches of good morals and defiance of ecclesiastical discipline: and thus it would seem that they actually suspended the celebration of the communion altogether. This was certainly an extreme measure: and it produced, as might have been expected, violent resistance. The malcontents wanted not the dexterity to combine with this subject of complaint, concerning the sacrament, another, which had a slight connexion with it, and on which they contrived to commit the ministers in a variance with the council. We have before adverted to the difference between the religious rites of Berne and those of Geneva<sup>1</sup>—one of which respected the bread used in the Lord's supper. The second synod of Lausanne had decided, that Geneva should be called upon to use unleavened bread, and in other respects to conform to the ceremonies of Berne: a demand which the council of Berne urged that of Geneva to comply with: and, all the enemies of Farel and Calvin now concurring with those who were favourable to these ceremonies, the order was issued for their adoption. The ministers did not peremptorily refuse to comply: but they contended for a postponement of the order—alleging that the synod of Lausanne had agreed on an adjournment of the question to a synod of several of the Helvetian churches shortly to be held at Zurich, so as to give the ministers of Geneva the opportunity of being more fully heard against the imposition of these rites, and to take advantage of the united wisdom of the country in deciding upon it. They urged therefore that no change should be made till that meeting had taken place. The council however refused to comply with their demand: and, on their persisting, forbade them

<sup>1</sup> Above p. 318.

the use of their pulpits. The ministers disregarded the prohibition, and preached both parts of the ensuing Sunday. In consequence, amidst all the excitement that prevailed, the syndics of the year placing themselves at the head of the disaffected, an order passed first the little council, then the grand council, and finally, on the 23d of April, the assembly of the people, for the banishment of Calvin, Farel, and Courault, for their contumacy, and their refusal to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper. While the enmity to the restraints of religion and to all righteousness, which influenced their adversaries, is but too manifest, it is not easy altogether to justify the conduct of the ministers of Geneva on this painful occasion. They seem to have attempted to carry things with too high a hand, to have been far from conciliatory, and in the last instance at least, of resolving to preach in the churches in defiance of the prohibition of the magistrates, (which was clearly a mere temporary measure,) not to have justly appreciated the obedience due from subjects to their rulers.

Calvin, on being informed of the decree of banishment, observed, "Had I been the servant of men, I must have complained of being ill-requited: but it is well for me that I have served One who never deserts those who devote themselves to him."<sup>1</sup>

It might have been apprehended that the step now taken must be fatal to the infant church of Geneva: but Beza observes that, under the direction of the great Head of the church, it only proved the means of its purification; since those persons who were the disgrace and bane of the society were suffered thus to expose themselves, and eventually to procure their own separation from it. Calvin also, the same writer adds, by the additional experience he acquired during his absence in other scenes of service, became

<sup>1</sup> Spon informs us that Calvin had never yet received any stipend, but had borne his own expences.

better qualified for the important part he was yet to act at Geneva. Farel and Calvin, on quitting Geneva, went first to Berne, to justify their conduct to their friends at that place, and thence proceeded to Zurich, to the synod which, it has been said, was to be held there. They here declared, that, though they could not allow the disputed observances to be forced upon them in the manner that had been attempted, they had no wish to prolong the contest, and divide the church upon such questions, and that they would therefore agree to the use of the ceremonies. Their behaviour gave great satisfaction to the synod ; which in consequence solicited the government of Berne to intercede with that of Geneva for their recall. This was accordingly done : and Peter Viret and one of the ministers of Berne joined the deputation to Geneva. But it was of no avail : the councils and the citizens were not to be softened : they were exasperated against the expelled ministers ; and many of the people offered the grossest insults to their memory, particularly that of Farel, to whom they were so much indebted : and the decree of banishment was confirmed by the almost unanimous vote of the popular assembly, after the heat wherein it had first been passed had had nearly five weeks in which to cool. In short it became manifest that the ceremonies were the mere pretext, and that it was the enmity of sin against righteousness, and its rebellion against all restraint, which actuated too great a proportion of the people of Geneva at this period. This sad spirit continued to prevail and to govern the public councils for some time ; so that Saunier, Cordier, and other friends of Farel and Calvin were added to the number of the banished, so long after as the Christmas following.

Finding their exclusion from Geneva confirmed, Calvin proceeded to Basle, and thence to Strasburg, in which latter city he received a cordial welcome from Bucer, Capito, Hedio, and other distinguished

friends. He was immediately appointed a professor of divinity, with a liberal stipend. On his expulsion from Geneva he had almost resolved not again to undertake a pastoral charge. By the entreaties however of his friends he was induced, with the express sanction of the senate, to establish a French church, for the benefit of his countrymen resident in the city, in which the form of discipline and government which he approved was introduced. Farel retired to Neuchâtel. Of Courault we find no further mention in the histories : which it appears from a letter of Calvin's to Farel, dated 24 October, 1538, is owing to his having died soon after his removal from Geneva. James Bernard and some other reformed ministers, whose conduct appears to have been timid, and was unsatisfactory to Calvin, remained at Geneva; and Henry la Mare of Jussy, and other country pastors, were called in to carry on the religious services of the city. La Mare at first opposed the disputed ceremonies, and was imprisoned for so doing : but he afterwards submitted; and the ceremonies were introduced, and were for many years observed in the church of Geneva.

Those who watched over the interests of the papal church suffered not so promising an opportunity to pass, without endeavouring to regain the Genevese to her communion. That communion had been but recently renounced among them : the authority of the new pastors had been since violently set at naught, and all the leading men of their body expelled ; and their place was now supplied by incompetent persons. Sanguine hopes of success were entertained by the Romanists; and the learned, eloquent, and respectable cardinal Sadolet, bishop of the neighbouring see of Carpentras, in Dauphiné, was employed to make the attempt. He addressed to " his dearly beloved brethren the magistracy, council, and citizens of Geneva," (with whom, as Calvin tells him, his intercourse was now first opened, and his



there been no need of him, would the Father ever have given him to take our flesh? Oh this is not perfidious, no vain, no unnecessary work of God: but the Son of God came 'that we might have life, a might have it most abundantly.' Thus Christ, that he might exhibit his whole self to us, cries, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' Gracious God! what is liberality, what is bounty, if this is not? Evils of every kind, internal and external beset us<sup>1</sup> on every side so that they must otherwise overwhelm us. The Son of God sees our calamitous state, and calls us unto himself. And, that no one's consciousness of guilt may deter him from coming without delay, he says expressly, ALL, and 'ye that labour,' and 'ye that are heavy-laden;' for he came for this very purpose, 'to save sinners,' and that 'freely.'

(2.) *Of Man.*—"To attain the knowledge of man as difficult as (according to a proverbial saying,) to take the cuttle-fish. For, as that animal is so effectually to conceal itself from its pursuers by black fluid which it sheds around it, so man, as soon as he perceives his own character to be the subject of investigation, shrouds himself in such thick clouds of hypocrisy, that it is impossible for a created eye to detect him. And so the prophet affirms: 'The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperate wicked: who can know it?' For instance, if you assert that the prophet in this passage declares the heart of man to be depraved, that heart immediately devises the evasions, that *depraved* here means 'on propense to depravity,' and that the declaration does not apply to *all*; meaning, when it thinks these positions once established, to assume that it is itself free from depravity, and to prove it from the constancy it has shewn in the defence of injurious human nature! Indeed the resources of self-love

<sup>1</sup> "Scatamus:" spring, bubble up within and around us.

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affection first excited towards them,) a flattering and artful epistle, in which nothing was omitted that might induce 'the wandering dove to return into the secure ark of the true church.' The council contented themselves with courteously acknowledging the letter, holding out the expectation of a more detailed reply. But no one was now found at Geneva qualified and disposed to meet it with a due answer: and it might probably have proved very seductive, but for the happy circumstance of its being written in a dead language. But Calvin, though unworthily treated, and in banishment, was not unmindful of his destitute flock. He had already repeatedly addressed to them wise and paternal letters, conveying advice suited to their circumstances; and he now, on receiving a copy of the cardinal's letter, seasonably stepped forward, and returned such an answer to it as left its author little to hope for from his well-concerted effort. Indeed the magistrates of Geneva shewed no disposition to return to the communion of Rome: on the contrary they soon after this time, from what they supposed necessary to the safety of the state, came to the resolution to exclude from the city all those who would not declare their rejection of the Roman-catholic religion.

Calvin now also republished his *Institutes*, much enlarged; and gave to the world his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and a treatise on the Lord's Supper, which Beza thinks might well have been allowed to terminate the various controversies on that subject. It was written in French for the use of his congregation at Strasburg. It appears also that he had considerable success, while resident in that city, in reclaiming Anabaptists. Two are particularly specified; Paul Volsius, to whom Erasmus had dedicated his "*Enchiridion*," and who became a pastor at Strasburg; and John Storder, whose widow, *Idolette de Bure*, a person of great merit, Calvin, by the advice of his friend Bucer, married.

Such were Calvin's employments at Strasburg till the close of the year 1540. In the mean time things fell into great disorder, both political and religious, at Geneva: and it is remarked, that, of the four syndics who had made themselves leaders in the violent proceedings of the year 1538, within two years, one was executed for murder; a second, endeavouring to descend the town-wall, in order to escape apprehension for sedition, fell, and died of the injuries he received; and the other two incurred the sentence of banishment, for having betrayed the interests of the city in an embassy with which they had been charged.

These troubles and these changes made way for the recall of the banished ministers. As early as the 21st of October, 1540, we find Calvin adverting to the possibility of a recall: but the thoughts of returning to Geneva are quite distressing to him. He describes in the strongest terms the anxieties he had there suffered, and says he shuddered to think of plunging again into such a sea of troubles, from the peaceful and happy situation which he now enjoyed. Yet he wished not to shrink from his duty, and would rather that others should decide for him than determine for himself. We have a letter addressed to him by James Bernard, 6 February, 1541, telling him that the general cry now was for Calvin, and pressing his return. The writer assures him that he will find the Genevese "a new people—become such by the grace of God, and through the instrumentality of Viret." On the same day that he answered this letter, March 1, he writes to Viret, "The further I advance, the more sensible am I how arduous a charge is that of governing a church:" and he adds, that "there is no place under heaven that he more dreads than Geneva." Yet he would decline nothing that might be for the welfare of the church: he was willing "to spend and be spent for it." On the 4th of April the pastors of Zurich wrote to him pressing his return to

Geneva. Among other considerations they urge the vast importance of the station, arising from the local situation of Geneva, "on the confines both of Germany, Italy, and France;" such that, were that place well occupied, there would be a prospect of the gospel's spreading from it, as a centre, into all those countries. From both this letter and the preceding it would seem that "an honourable deputation" had been sent to him from the council of Geneva, to solicit his return. The field was not yet however fairly open before him. It was not till the first of May 1541, that the decree of banishment was rescinded and the ejected ministers were declared to be at liberty to return when they pleased. But this decree which of itself sounds somewhat cold, was followed by earnest applications for his return, which even the councils of Zurich and Basle were engaged to second and to use their influence to obtain the consent of Strasburg to his removal.

As it respected Farel, this permission, though accompanied with some solicitations for his return, had no effect. He was too firmly fixed, and too well employed, at Neuchâtel to consent to return to Geneva. He was however among the most urgent and influential of those who advised Calvin not to hesitate about resuming the important post which was offered him. But for the present that reformer was engaged on a mission from Strasburg to the conferences held at Ratisbon between the papists and the protestants,<sup>1</sup> from which he could not be released and the senate of Strasburg were most reluctant to part with him. Indeed they would not consent to resign him except for a limited time. Nor was his own reluctance yet overcome. Bucer, we are told when he thought the call had become too clear to be resisted, was obliged to interfere, to press upon his friend the consideration of the example of Jonah, an

<sup>1</sup> *Lutheran Reformation*, ii. 120 &c.

threaten him with the displeasure of heaven if he resisted. And so late as the 25th of August we find Farel chiding his delay in the most anxious and irritated manner. Before that period however, it did seem, he had given his consent. In the mean time as the country ministers, finding themselves little esteemed, had withdrawn, and Geneva was so ill supplied, Viret was, by the advice of Calvin and the other eminent ministers with whom he was now surrounded, procured from Lausanne to undertake the principal pastoral charge of the place, till Calvin should be able to repair thither. Remarkable however is the language in which he expresses himself Farel in announcing his decision: "Since I remember that I am not my own, nor at my own disposal, I give myself up, tied and bound, as a sacrifice to God." His return at length took place on the 13th of September, 1541, and the proceedings which accompanied it were highly honourable to all parties concerned. The citizens and council of Geneva cited themselves on having regained their faithful, learned, and very able pastor, and rested not till a temporary grant of his services, at first made by Strasburg, was converted into an absolute and permanent surrender. Strasburg on the other hand stood on his retaining the privileges of a citizen, and the stipend which they had assigned him while dependent among them. But Calvin, though he gladly accepted the former mark of esteem, could never be induced to receive the appointed reward of services which he no longer rendered—"there being nothing," says Beza, "that he less desired than riches." He seems to have been not merely gratified but deeply affected by his reception at Geneva. "I had ended," he says, "on my return, to address the people, entering into a review of the past, and a justification of myself and my colleagues; but I found them so touched with remorse, so ready to anticipate me in the confession of their faults, that

I felt that such a proceeding would not only be superfluous but cruel." A decree had been adopted in the general assembly of the people, in which the republic at large acknowledged "the great injury they had done him, and implored forgiveness of Almighty God." A deputation was also sent at his suggestion to invite Farel to visit them, and "to the city where the deceased minister (Courault) was buried," conveying a testimony of respect for his memory.

Every one must perceive how honourable to Calvin's character, and how flattering to his feelings, all this must have been. If we may believe his own account, his conduct was also now very forbearing towards some of his colleagues. Beza had told us that, from the first, "most of them had been timid, and some of them had secretly obstructed the work of the Lord;" and Calvin now complains of several whom he found in possession as "arrogant, fierce, destitute alike of zeal and of learning, and secretly counteracting the measures in which they professed to concur;" and he adds, "I might have gained applause by severity towards them, and have put them all to rout with ease: but I abstained; and I pray God to preserve me in the same moderation."

The transactions which we have here been relating have been subjected to a very remarkable review from our own illustrious Hooker; but we must here do no more than transcribe his opening sentences.—Speaking of the presbyterian discipline, he says: "A founder it had, whom for mine own part I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading, so much as by teaching others. For, though thousands were debtors to him as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain the book of life, and

of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides, till, being occasioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva."<sup>1</sup> However little Hooker might approve Calvin's discipline (though of that he speaks with a moderation which to some might seem surprising,) it will be acknowledged that he is sufficiently eulogistic as to Calvin's character and attainments. Nor, as we shall hereafter see, do his eulogies end here.

The following is given by Alexander Morus, rector of the academy of Geneva, and one of the most celebrated preachers of the seventeenth century, as an address of Calvin's to the council of Geneva after his restoration. "If you desire to have me for your pastor, correct the disorders of your lives. If you have with sincerity recalled me from my exile, banish the crimes and debauchery which prevail amongst you. I certainly cannot behold, without the most painful displeasure, within your walls discipline trodden under foot, and crimes committed with impunity. I cannot possibly live in a place so grossly immoral. Vicious souls are too filthy to receive the purity of the gospel, and the spiritual worship which I preach to you. A life stained with sin is too contrary to Jesus Christ to be tolerated. I consider the principal enemies of the gospel to be not the pontiff of Rome, nor heretics, nor seducers, nor tyrants, but such bad Christians: because the former exert their rage *out* of the church, while drunkenness, luxury, perjury, blasphemy, impurity, adultery, and other abominable vices overthrow my doctrine, and expose it defenceless to the rage of our enemies. Rome does not constitute the principal object of my fears. Still less am I apprehensive from the almost infinite multitude of monks. The gates of hell, the principalities

<sup>1</sup> The whole of Hooker's review (extracted from the Preface to his *Ecc. Pol.* § 2.) is given, with remarks, in *Contin. of Milner*, iii. pp. 282-288.



and powers of evil spirits disturb me not at all. I tremble on account of other enemies more dangerous: and I dread abundantly more those carnal covetousnesses, those debaucheries of the tavern, of the brothel, and of gaming; those infamous remains of ancient superstition, those mortal pests, the disgrace of your town, and the shame of the reformed name. Of what importance is it to have driven away the wolves from the fold, if the pest ravage the flock? Of what use is a dead faith without good works? Of what value even truth itself, where a wicked life belies it, and actions make words blush. Either command me to abandon a second time your town, and let me go and soften the bitterness of my afflictions in a new exile; or let the severity of the laws reign in the church. Reestablish there the pure discipline. Remove from within your walls, and from the frontiers of your state, the pest of your vices, and condemn them to a perpetual banishment."

An extraordinary account is given of Calvin's labours from the time of his return to Geneva. "In every fortnight he preached one entire week"—whether daily or not does not appear. Thrice in every week he delivered divinity lectures: on the Thursdays he presided in the consistory; and on the Fridays in what was called the *congregation*, a meeting for the collation and the exposition of scripture. Frequently he was called to assist the council with his advice, which his skill in the science of law, combined with his general wisdom and talent, made him very competent to do. His correspondence also was very extensive, the fame of his learning and piety causing him to be consulted from all quarters; and he himself complains of the continual interruptions which, as might naturally have been expected, he encountered from the visits of strangers, and from other avocations. Yet his copious commentaries on the scriptures, and other writings, chiefly in a polished Latin style, are known to be very elaborate

and accurate.—Such were the performances of a man, whose constitution was delicate, and his health bad, and who never completed his fifty-fifth year.

One of Calvin's first cares after his return was, to procure the establishment of a regular ecclesiastical polity and discipline, according to his own views, including the power of censure and excommunication, which he believed to be not only urgently required by the state of things at Geneva, but to be necessary for the well-being of all churches; and without which indeed he declared himself incapable of duly discharging his ministry. The latter part of his plan met with considerable resistance: the exclusion even of notorious offenders from the sacrament exciting great animosity. Calvin however carried his point, and the presbyterian discipline was established according to the formulary which he, with the aid of six other commissioners, members of the council, appointed for the purpose, had drawn up. All this was effected, and received the sanction of the people; and, in addition to it, a new and enlarged catechism, and a species of liturgy, were prepared by Calvin; in little more than two months after his return to Geneva.

Another labour of a more secular kind soon after devolved upon him. After the great revolution which had taken place in the state of Geneva, the magistrates felt it necessary that a complete revision and a new digest of the laws should be made; that such as were obsolete might be repealed, such as were wanting supplied, and others altered as circumstances required. Calvin was one of the commissioners appointed for this purpose also: and so great and so valuable were his services in constructing that code under which the republic long flourished, that the celebrated author of the "Spirit of Laws" (Montesquieu) has said of him, "The Genevese ought to bless the moment of the birth of Calvin, and that of his arrival within their walls." This work re-

ceived the sanction of the state in the beginning of the year 1543.

Involved at once in so many and various labours, Calvin earnestly desired, but in vain, to obtain the assistance of Farel, and zealously exerted himself to have that of Viret rendered permanent. "If Viret is taken from me," he says, "I am ruined, and cannot provide for the well-being of the church in this place." He could retain him however only six months: at the end of which term Viret returned to his charge at Lausanne. Calvin continued in the closest intercourse of friendship with these two excellent persons, while each laboured in the sphere that providence had assigned him: so that Besa remarks, "It was beautiful to observe the union and yet diversity of these three great men in the service of their common master. Farel excelled in boldness and grandeur of mind. The thunders of his preaching could hardly be heard without trembling, or his ardent prayers without the soul being lifted to heaven. Viret, on the other hand, was distinguished by a sweet persuasive eloquence, which made his hearers hang upon his lips, almost whether they would or not. While Calvin filled the mind with nearly as many weighty sentiments as he uttered words. Hence it often appeared to me that the union of the three would have formed a perfect preacher."

In the year 1542, as in some following years, Geneva was visited with scarcity and pestilence. The persons afflicted with the plague (as it appears distinctly called, and described to be,) were collected in a hospital without the city; and Calvin, when others declined to do it, offered to visit them as their spiritual adviser and comforter: but the magistrates would not permit *his* life to be risked in a service which actually proved fatal to the person on whom it devolved. The same year the persecutions both in France and Italy drove numerous refugees to Geneva; in providing for whose wants, both temporal

and spiritual, Calvin spared no pains. The natives of France would of course join in the ordinary services of the Genevese church: but, for the benefit of those who spoke other languages, we find both an Italian, a Spanish, and an English church, opened in the city in Calvin's time. Calvin also extended his anxious cares to those who had been unable to make their escape from persecution—addressing many letters to them to confirm and comfort them. He this year also published an "Antidote" to the articles which the doctors of the Sorbonne had taken upon them to publish as a standard of faith, and which numbers were induced to subscribe. .

The following year produced his "Defence of the sound and orthodox Doctrine concerning the bondage and the liberation of the Will," in answer to Pighius, a Dutch divine of some eminence, who, according to Beza, hoped to gain a cardinal's hat by writing against the reformers: but who has had the ill fortune on the one hand to have his own treatises put into the list of prohibited books by the Spanish Inquisition, for their disagreement with S. Augustine; and on the other to be held forth as a man whose principles had been corrupted by venturing on the forbidden ground of the reformers' writings. Calvin dedicates this work to Melancthon, whom he extols as "a distinguished and valiant defender of sound doctrine;" and admires for the exquisite union of "clearness and simplicity" which his writings exhibited; and whose judgment, he says, "should suffice him for that of all beside." So very courteous a public address could scarcely fail to conciliate Melancthon's favourable regard to the work thus inscribed to him. Accordingly he wrote to Calvin a very cordial letter of acknowledgment, in which he commends the eloquence as well as piety of Calvin's work; speaks humbly of himself; avows the course he had pursued, and the subjects on which he loved mainly to dwell, and to which he could like to see Calvin

"transfer" his eloquent pen—rejoicing "that he had been raised up of God to assert the truth of the gospel:" and he concludes with expressing his conviction that his views and those of Calvin agreed, "only that his own statements were more popular, and adapted to practice."

In the year 1544 Calvin republished, with a commentary, the "paternal admonition" which pope Paul III. addressed to the emperor for having (from the necessity of his circumstances,) presumed to promise the two great religious parties in the empire the early convocation of a council, and to place them in the mean time on an equal footing. To the emperor himself, and the diet assembled at Spire, he also addressed a "Suppliant Exhortation" on "the necessity of reforming the church." While he thus pleaded for the reformation against its avowed enemies, he spared no pains to protect it against the corruption of its pretended friends. There existed at this period a wretched sect of persons who scrupled not to assume the name of *Libertines*, meaning, it may be presumed, to have it interpreted—*assertors of liberty*, whether spiritual or civil: but they seem to have been entitled to the appellation in the worst sense of the word. They were in principle, and in many instances in practice also, antinomians of the grossest description; besides running into many extravagant and dangerous speculations. Yet they contrived to veil all their atrocious sentiments with such high-flown pretences to "spirituality," and so supported them "by good words and fair speeches," calculated "to deceive the hearts of the simple," that they made many converts and spread widely. They arose in Hainault and at Lisle, but they had now spread into France: and the same name, at least, was given to a strong party at Geneva, who, as we shall see, occasioned Calvin no small trouble for some years to come. He this year wrote against them an elaborate work, in which he professes him-

self thus early, as he had indeed done from the first, the strenuous opposer of all such representations of the divine agency as would impair the responsibility of man, and of every even the remotest approach to, "turning the grace of God into lasciviousness."


Of the arts of insinuation which the leaders of this sect possessed and exercised we have a proof in the fact, that the queen of Navarre took much umbrage at Calvin's having written against such pious and heavenly-minded men in the manner he had done. The experience of our own times seems to conspire with that of preceding ages to shew, that persons of her sex, having perhaps, like her, claims to take some lead in the church, are peculiarly liable to be wrought upon by pretences like those of the Libertines; by the pleasing idea of attaining more insight than common into the mysteries of redemption, and of the divine government and grace; and by the flattery which corrupt teachers ever know how to insinuate in connexion with their doctrine, to facilitate its reception, and to advance their own interests.—Calvin, on learning the offence taken by his former royal patroness, addressed to her a letter, in which, while he treated her with all the respect due to her rank, her character, and her kindness to himself, he yet asserted his own greater competence to judge in such a cause, and expostulated with her for suffering herself to be so far led astray.—The effect of Calvin's exertions appears to have been that this atrocious sect was checked in its career, and in a great degree confined to the neighbourhood in which it had originated.

Another evil against which Calvin had at this period to contend, not so much in his own city as among his correspondents in France and elsewhere, was one which must ever be likely to arise in times of persecution. I refer to the error of those who were convinced of the truth, but satisfied themselves with holding it secretly, while they outwardly conformed to the prevailing superstitions. Many now

pretended to justify their being thus afraid or "ashamed to confess Christ before men:" and hence (in allusion to the supposed cowardice of Nicodemus in visiting our Lord by night,) obtained the name of *Nicodemites*. Their error, for which flesh and blood will always plead, was one which had been examined and condemned by the ancient fathers: but Calvin found himself called upon repeatedly to write against it. In the year 1537 he had addressed some epistles on the subject to individuals of eminence: but he now wrote more fully on the necessity of standing aloof from superstitions; and, as some of the persons concerned, and whom he esteemed, thought him too severe, he at their request solicited the judgment of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr, in addition to his own. In his letter to Melancthon on this occasion, he writes as if he feared that he might not have the full concurrence of that reformer in his decisions. "I so esteem your judgment (as it is fit I should,) that it would be very painful to me to find myself differing from you. I know that the tenderness of your nature leads you to concede many things to others which you would not allow to yourself: but we must take care not to loose where God binds." He submits to Melancthon the letter in which he applied for Luther's advice, feeling some difficulty in approaching the sturdy Saxon, and desiring that the subject should be introduced to him under favourable circumstances. It does not appear that Luther returned any answer. Of his sentiments however no doubt can be entertained: and, for the other eminent persons consulted, they all with one voice condemned the practice in question, as "fearing and obeying man rather than God." Beza tells us that the consequence was, that henceforward the name and practice of the "*Nicodemites*" fell into ill odour in the church.

Calvin's approaching Luther so cautiously on the occasion just related, as if he feared that any thing

from Switzerland might inflame him, was occasioned by the rumours he had heard of his recent and violent publication, which proved also his last on the subject of the sacrament. A previous letter had spoken more distinctly upon this subject, and shewn at the same time the good spirit which the writer cherished in himself and others towards the veteran hero of the reformation. It is addressed to Bullinger, who with the other divines of Zurich was to be considered as more particularly attacked. "I can now hardly ask you," says Calvin, "to hold your peace: . . . but I wish you all to remember, first, how great a man Luther is; what endowments he possesses; and what fortitude and firmness, what skill and what learning, he has employed in routing the powers of antichrist, and in propagating the true doctrine of salvation. I have often said, that though he should call me a devil I would yet honour him as an illustrious servant of God. It is true however that, as he is distinguished by eminent virtues, so he labours under great faults. Oh that he had studied to restrain that intemperateness which is ever ready to boil over in him! That he had always directed that vehemence, which is inseparable from his nature, against the enemies of the truth, and not sometimes turned it upon the servants of God! That he had bestowed more pains in discovering his own faults! He was naturally too prone to indulge the impulses of his own mind: and flatterers have much injured him by cherishing that propensity. It is our duty however, even in reprehending his faults, to acknowledge his great excellences. I beg therefore of you and your colleagues, in the first place, to remember that he whom you have to encounter is a great and leading servant of Christ, to whom we are all deeply indebted. In the next place consider, that all you will gain by involving yourselves in the controversy will be to afford matter of triumph to the ungodly, who will make it an occasion of insulting over the





gospel still more than over us. When we become mutual accusers of each other, they will be only too ready to believe us *both*. . . Dwell upon these considerations, rather than on what the intemperance of Luther may have deserved at your hands. Let us not '*bite and devour one another, lest we be consumed.*' " —Nothing assuredly can be more wise or more Christian than every part of this passage.

The years 1546 and 1547, (those of the death of Luther, the first sitting of the council of Trent, and the Smalkaldic war,) were years of alarm: and even at Geneva they afforded much work to Calvin in fortifying the minds of the people against the apprehensions excited by the general council, the pope, and the emperor. They were also years of disturbance from the Libertine faction. Perrin, an early stickler for reformation, but a vain, ambitious, and licentious man, having obtained the office of captain-general, thought the opportunity advantageous for breaking through the restraints which Calvin and his coadjutors had imposed. He openly contended for the abrogation of the consistory and ecclesiastical discipline, and for referring all cases exclusively to the senate and the civil courts, where he and his party hoped to find connivance at their excesses. The opposition which Calvin encountered from these persons was, according to Beza, to be traced directly to his maintaining " that the gospel is not a speculative doctrine, but must produce a holy life." And it was so violent that, in obeying the summons he received at different times to attend the council, his life was exposed to some danger, at one time from the swords of the contending parties, at another from persons who would have excited the people to throw him into the Rhone. The council however supported the ecclesiastical constitution which had been adopted, deprived Perrin of his office, and expelled him from the senate; and branded with infamy one of their own body who had accused Calvin as a false

teacher—at the same time depriving two members of the college of pastors who had prompted the accusation. One principal leader of the cabal, James Gruet, even suffered capitally for his infidelity, profligate principles, and turbulent conduct. Though his crimes were not such as would be visited with capital punishment in modern times, at least in a free country, yet all these facts conspire to shew the character of the party with which Calvin had to contend.

The following year in some degree revived the spirits of the lawless citizens, and that, as Beza observes, by Satan's device in making men instrumental to this result who were at heart most opposed to it. Farel and Viret visited Geneva, and, in their zeal to heal the divisions and disorders which they found there, they proposed accommodation between the parties. Calvin having, according to the representation of the same writer, nothing in view but to be "first pure then peaceable," the restoration of Perrin was agreed to. This artful demagogue scrupled not to assent to any thing to obtain his ends, but immediately went contrary to all his engagements. His ambition was to rise to the syndicate; hoping, when clothed with the powers which that office would give him, to be able to effect his ulterior purposes. In the nearer object he succeeded: but in the more remote one, as we shall hereafter see, he entirely failed.

In the midst of these conflicts Calvin was unwearied in his endeavours to counteract error, and to diffuse light and truth in the world. At the close of the year 1547 he published the Acts of the seven sessions of the council of Trent, which had already been held, with an "Antidote." The next year he published commentaries on six of S. Paul's Epistles: an exposure of the German Interim, with his judgment of the true method of giving peace and reformation to the church: a letter against a Libertine

Franciscan at Rohan, and a piece on the vanity and folly of judicial astrology, to which many enlightened men in that age were addicted.

His correspondence also at this period was interesting and important. He wrote to Brentius who had been driven from Halle in Suabia by the influence of the emperor and the Interim,<sup>1</sup> and was now living at Basle, and to Bucer who had retreated before the storm into England.<sup>2</sup> Calvin addresses the former, though he was rather a violent partizan on Luther's side in the sacramental controversy, in the kindest manner. He says: "Amidst all these calamities one consideration supports and refreshes my mind: I assure myself that God, in commencing the wonderful restoration of his church which we have witnessed, has not held out a vain and transient hope to us, but has begun a work which he will not fail to accomplish, in spite of the malice of men and the opposition of Satan. In the mean time let us patiently undergo the purification which is necessary for us."—The hope which he thus cherished has not been disappointed, notwithstanding all discouraging circumstances from without and from within the church at that time. May *we* not even more confidently still hold fast the like hope respecting the revival of religion in our own age, whatever appearances may for a time become?—Bucer he exhorted to speak more clearly and decidedly on the eucharist, respecting which he had vainly endeavoured to effect a compromise between the parties; reminding him of the violence of Amsdorf and others, who even exceeded the papists in extravagance; and of what Melancthon had suffered from them for not going all their lengths.<sup>3</sup>

But his correspondence with England will most directly interest us. In a long letter to the protector Somerset, 22d October, 1548, he discusses three im-

<sup>1</sup> Luth. Ref. ii. 253, 274.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 382.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 389, &c.

portant topics: 1. The due instruction of the people: 2. The eradication of abuses hitherto subsisting: 3. The restraint of open immorality and irreligion. Under the first, he insists strongly and repeatedly on the importance of faithful, spirited, pungent preaching—such as should make men feel the truth of the apostle's assertion, that "the word of God is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword:" laments that persons capable of such preaching were rare in England: and would have full liberty of speech allowed to them wherever they were found.—On the other hand, in order to exclude curious and vain discussions, and to restrain wild and erratic spirits—such as would "utter their own dreams as the oracles of God"—he recommends that an approved summary or confession of faith should be adopted, from which all ministers should be sworn not to deviate. He would further have a catechism drawn up, and all young or ignorant persons instructed in it: which would be a safeguard and a source of blessing to them. "The church of God," he says, "cannot subsist, or your work endure, without catechetical instruction, by which the seed of the future harvest is sown, the people prepared to understand the word preached, and their minds fortified against those who broach novel and strange doctrines." In the last place, under this head, he would have a formulary of public prayers and rites of divine worship introduced, from which no deviation should be allowed. This would conduce to the ends proposed in the former recommendations, and promote the edification of the people.—With respect to the removal of *abuses* affecting religion, he wishes the protector to proceed boldly in abolishing all corrupt popish ceremonies; any of which being retained would bring back additional evils: but he expressly allows a moderation and prudence to be used "in adapting ceremonies [indifferent in themselves] to the habits and capacities of the people."—Under the

head of *public morals*, he complains, as we may always do, concerning the sentiments as well as the laws of mankind, that offences against property were so much more anxiously restrained than others equally offensive to God and injurious to society.

In a letter to Bullinger in March, 1551, he alludes again to English affairs. He laments the imprisonment of Hooper for refusing the usual accompaniments of consecration to a bishopric: approves his rejection of unction: but wishes he had been less tenacious respecting the vestments, intimating that he had written to him, dissuading him from his resistance to them, though he had himself no liking for such distinctions.

In two letters to archbishop Cranmer, the first of them dated 20th March, 1552, and written, we may conclude, in reply to one which the archbishop had addressed to him, he highly approves the plan of the primate to procure, if possible, a synod of learned and pious men from all parts, who might form a sort of counterpoise to the assembly now again collected at Trent, and might prepare and agree upon a common statement, or confession, of all the heads of Christian doctrine, "with the best and most unexceptionable modes of expressing them:" and, till such a measure could be carried into effect, that of framing articles for England alone. He earnestly presses his dignified correspondent to lose no time in executing so good a work, and in perfecting the reformation of his country; lamenting that, owing to various hinderances, raised up by Satan himself, faithful preaching, "the very life's breath, and soul itself, of the Christian ministry," did not proceed here more successfully. He regrets also that many "shoots" of popery still survived, which would be likely to grow and spread again if they were not extirpated.

A few other sentences may be here collected relating to subjects allied to some which have been noticed. We have two letters of Calvin's, and ano-

ther addressed to him by Bullinger, on the abolition at Geneva, in 1550 or 1551, of the four festivals of Christmas, New Year, (or Circumcision,) the Annunciation, and the Ascension, which had been observed since the period of Calvin's expulsion in 1538—the first of them being now transferred to the nearest Sunday. For this change he was censured: but he declares that he should not have ventured to advise it; that he had been surprised at its adoption; and had done nothing whatever to promote it. On his recall to Geneva, he affirms, he could “with much applause” have procured the rescinding of all which had been done in his absence: but he had attempted nothing of the kind. He had indeed thought it absurd to observe the day of Christ's circumcision, and to pass over that of his death: and he did condemn the celebration of Lady-day, because it was perverted to encourage a superstitious regard for the Virgin. “I rather sought,” he says, “this *temperament*, that the day of the nativity should be observed, as at Berne; and that on the other days the shops should be shut and public service performed in the forenoon, and the people then return to their ordinary employments.”—Does all this, it may again be asked, savour of that intemperate innovation upon ancient usages and decent observances, which many would impute to Calvin? Bullinger says to him on the occasion: “I know that you never shewed yourself rigid in things of this nature, which easily excite ill-will, but do little to promote piety. For my part I wish that liberty to be given in such things, which I see prevailed in the churches from the times of the apostles.”

The adiaphoristic controversy, arising out of the promulgation of the Interim, now engrossed the public attention, and Calvin wrote that letter to Melancthon, on his conduct and doctrine respecting “things indifferent,” which we have noticed in the History of the Lutheran Reformation.<sup>1</sup> It is the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II. p. 290, 291.

letter of a true and faithful friend, but written under misinformation. Beza, Calvin's coadjutor and intimate friend, and afterwards his successor and biographer, thus speaks of it: "Calvin explained his sentiments, and admonished Philip of his duty: for some thought him (Melancthon) too yielding upon the subject, but *unjustly, as Calvin, better informed, was afterwards aware*; for it was not then known what spirit actuated that evil genius<sup>1</sup> and the whole tribe of the followers of Flacius, by which they afterwards excited such disturbances, and to this day so obstruct the work of the Lord, that they could not have done it more audaciously and furiously had they been hired to it by the gold of the Roman pontiff!"—Wherein indeed, it may be asked, did Melancthon's principles on these subjects differ from those which Calvin avowed and acted upon? The one of these great men appears no less anxious than the other duly to limit the application of the term *indifferent*, and not to suffer it to be extended to "any new species of worship," any "corrupt addition to divine ordinances."

Before we quit these subjects, and particularly as the adherents of Flacius, who affected the name of *genuine Lutherans*, and Calvin's better acquaintance with their spirit as time advanced, have been alluded to, we may observe, that in a letter of the date of 1560 he is not a little severe upon them. "They ruin the churches," he says, "not merely by vain confidence, but by an absolutely savage pride. . . . The greater part think they reflect the *genuine* image of Luther if, instead of the greatness of soul which characterized him, they swell with an inflated arrogance. . . . They are the *apes* of Luther: for he has left few *imitators*."

At the period at which we have regularly arrived, the year 1549, Calvin suffered a severe domestic

<sup>1</sup> Qu. Flacius himself?

affliction, in the death of his wife. He himself gives an affecting account, evidently written under strong emotion, of her truly Christian departure, in which the simplicity of her faith, the elevation of her hope, and the superior character of her mind shone forth conspicuously. A few short sentences, impressively uttered by her, shewed, he observes, what sentiments occupied her breast. "O glorious resurrection!" she once exclaimed: "O God of Abraham and of all our fathers, the faithful in all generations have trusted in thee, and none was ever confounded. I too will trust in thee." He calls her "the most excellent partner of his life, who stood prepared, if difficulties and dangers arose, to be his voluntary associate, not only in exile and want, but in death itself." She had borne him one son, who died before either of his parents. She had however other children surviving by her former husband. Observing that she made no mention of them on her deathbed, Calvin remarked to her, that he should regard them as his own. She replied, "I have committed them to the Lord, and I know that you will not neglect what you are sensible has been commended to him." "The great thing," she said again to a female friend, "is, that they may lead a holy and religious life!"

His childless state being afterwards absurdly made a ground of reproach against him, he comforted himself and repelled the reproach by observing, "I have numberless spiritual children throughout the world:" a boast for which he has been again censured from another quarter. There was truth however and great consolation in the reflection; and, notwithstanding all his conflicts and trials, our reformer had much at this period to give him satisfaction and encouragement. The efforts of his enemies at Geneva were for the time repressed; and the increase of the church we are told was wonderful. The influx also of pious and interesting strangers, who fled from persecution, or were attracted by the fame of Calvin's



name, was great: and he spared no pains to promote the comfort of such as needed assistance, and to render them all useful. A meeting or synod of his brethren from all quarters, which in company with Farel he attended at Zurich, had also a happy issue. His doctrine of the sacrament had been suspected by some of approximating too much to that of Luther: but this apprehension was now removed, by a "Harmony of the Swiss and Grison Churches," in which all parties concurred; which had the effect of still more closely uniting Bullinger with Calvin, and the church of Zurich with that of Geneva; and to which, says Beza, "we still adhere, and hope by the blessing of God to do so to the end."

This year likewise introduced into the sacred office, and to the service of Switzerland, another eminent luminary of the church, in the person of THEODORE BEZA. He was born at Vezelay in France, and was now, at Calvin's instigation, called to the station of professor of Greek, and a preacher at Lausanne.

Soon after this it was publicly ordered at Geneva, that the ministers should by no means satisfy themselves with preaching the gospel publicly to the people, but, after the apostle's example, should visit them from house to house. In this service they were to be attended by an officer styled "the decurion" of the district, and to examine the people concerning their faith: and it is added, "It is scarcely credible how much fruit this practice produced."

We will close the present chapter with noticing a correspondence which took place between Calvin and Lælius Socinus, from whom and his nephew and heir, Faustus, the Socinian heresy took its name. Lælius was a native of Sienna, in Italy, who from a partiality for the reformation left his country in 1548, at the age of twenty-three years. From that period to the end of his life he passed his time chiefly at Zurich, except that from 1549 to 1551 he resided at Wittemberg. He was a member to the end of his

days of the Locarnese congregation at Zurich, and kept up an acquaintance with the principal reformers. He never distinctly avowed his sentiments, but only raised questions, in the character of a learner rather than in that of a teacher or a disputant, concerning the sacraments and the resurrection, and afterwards concerning redemption and the Trinity. Yet he secretly exerted himself in making proselytes, and not without success. When Bullinger, having received some intimation from the Grisons of Socinus's unsoundness on the doctrine of the Trinity, laid his information before him, and urged him to remove suspicion by some decisive declaration, he protested that he agreed on all points with the church of Zurich, and subscribed a confession of his faith which was satisfactory to Bullinger! But, after his death, the antitrinitarians, who had enjoyed his confidence, proclaimed the fact that he was of their sentiments, and in proof of it circulated such of his writings as were in their hands; and his nephew Faustus, coming from Lyons to Zurich, took possession of his papers, and afterwards made use of them in composing his own works. Such at least is the representation made of his character and conduct by an eminently calm and competent historian.<sup>1</sup> Such conduct also we know has too frequently been, to a considerable extent, imitated by men of his principles: and we may pronounce it not unworthy of them; for we can consider Socinianism as nothing but a system accommodated to the taste and desires of fallen human nature: an attempt to secure, if possible, the advantages of Christianity, without binding its professors to much more, either in faith or practice, than a deist might be content to admit. It submits not the understanding to the authority of revelation: it bows not the heart to the humbling doctrine of the cross—to either a Redeemer or a

<sup>1</sup> M'Crie, *Ref. in Italy*, p. 385—399.

**Sanctifier:** it feels not the supreme importance of divine truth; entertains not any proper sense of the evil of sin; nor separates from a corrupt world. It can leave its followers therefore to accommodate themselves to times and circumstances, and, generally speaking, to avow or conceal their sentiments as convenience may dictate: while every real Christian will remember that he is called to "confess Christ before men," on pain of being "denied by him before his Father."

The two letters of Calvin to Socinus which have been preserved, and which appear both to belong to the year 1549, turn not at all upon trinitarian or antitrinitarian questions, but upon those of intermarrying with papists, the lawfulness and validity of popish baptism, and the resurrection of the body. They indicate throughout in his correspondent a restless, inquisitive, and not well regulated mind. Intermarriage with papists Calvin of course condemns: observing that, as it is to be "the first object with a Christian man in selecting a wife, to find a companion and help-meet in all the duties of a holy and religious life," the sacrifice of that leading object must always be criminal: and adding, in the other letter, "In too many instances have I found how far they withdraw from Christ, who entangle themselves in such connexions." The validity of popish baptism he could not doubt; for, says he, "when we withhold from papists the name of a church, we still do not deny that some remains of a church continue with them." And this he explains, in his second letter, as "not to be restricted to the elect who are interspersed among them," but to mean that "the ruins of a scattered church exist under the papacy." "However broken and deformed it may be, a church of some sort exists." And in proof of this he quotes 2 Thess. ii. 4, that the man of sin "*sitteth in the temple of God.*"—To deprive children of baptism on account of popish abuses, or even

because it could not be had without them, he thought even a greater fault than presenting them to baptism under all those disadvantages. It involved an apparent "contempt of Christianity itself."—On attending the services in popish churches merely for the gratification of curiosity, he is very severe. "It admits," he says, "of no excuse, whatever may be pretended. The very gratification felt shews that the persons, capable of receiving it, are not affected as they ought to be with the dishonour done to God: and there is a profaneness in the practice"—in seeming to concur in idolatry, and in making a religious service an amusement.—On the subject of the resurrection of the body, such testimonies as were easily collected from scripture satisfied him, "so as to leave no anxiety or doubt on his mind: nay so as to raise him above all fear of death." But, as they did not satisfy his correspondent, he said he must decline discussing the subject any further: he had no wish to go beyond what was written. "You will not induce me," he says, "to pass the bounds prescribed us by God." Further inquiry, however alluring or plausible, was ensnaring—"speciosæ illecebræ."

In these extracts again sentiments occur which many persons would not have expected from Calvin. A wrong estimate has very generally been formed of him.

## CHAPTER XI.

*History of Calvin continued.*

THE name of Calvin is so associated in the minds of most persons in the present age with the question of predestination, that they are apt to consider him in scarcely any other light than as the assertor of dogmas with respect to it, on which some delight disproportionately to dwell, and from which others revolt with horror. But, in the first place his doctrines upon that deep and difficult subject were no *peculiarities* of his; and, secondly, this was not his great subject—that which mainly employed his powers; much less that on which he exclusively dwelt. It may be true that, by giving a more regular and consistent form to the tenets which he embraced upon this head, he might contribute to their wider and more permanent reception: but he seems on the whole rather to have softened than aggravated what had previously been taught with respect to it.

We make these observations in the present connexion, because of the fact that we have now passed through more than half of the twenty-eight years that Calvin's ministry lasted, without even hearing of the question of predestination. We do not mean that he did not hold and teach the same doctrines during that time, as in the subsequent part of his life. His Institutes were before the public from the very commencement of this period, and they from the first asserted

his predestinarian tenets: but no controversy, no discussion arose upon the subject, at least between protestants. Calvin had yet published nothing separately upon it. In his work on the will, in reply to Pighius, which obtained the approbation of Melancthon in the year 1543, the question of predestination is expressly reserved for a separate publication, which, as his opponent died soon after, never appeared during the period on which our remark is made. His work against the Libertines, which he published in 1544, is in great part employed in refuting and reprobating those avowed principles of their's, which are often charged as implied in his own doctrine—such as making God the author of sin, and destroying human responsibility. In fact, his main conflict at Geneva from the first had been, not against those who differed from him on such points; it had hardly been even against the errors of popery; but rather against the great practical evils which prevailed, and in enforcing upon men, that “every one who named the name of Christ must depart from iniquity,” if he would be acknowledged as his disciple.

The person who first raised discussion at Geneva concerning predestination was one who, according to the report of all parties, could do no credit to any cause: though this certainly does not affect the merits of the question itself. This person was Jerome Bolsec, late a Carmelite monk of Paris. He had travelled into Italy, and had assumed, it would appear, with little qualification for it, the character of a physician. He also professed the protestant faith, and on that ground presented himself at the court of the duchess of Ferrara; whence he was soon driven in disgrace. He appeared at Geneva as a physician, and there it seems entered into some private discussions with Calvin, before he publicly objected to the doctrines taught in the churches. At length on the 16 October, 1551, having attended the Friday lecture in the cathedral, which was on that

day delivered by St. André, minister of Jussy, from the text, "He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God;" he availed himself of the liberty allowed to the hearers on those occasions, of proposing to the lecturer any doubts or difficulties which they might feel on the subject of his lecture: and, further encouraged perhaps by the supposed absence of Calvin, who had come in late and did not appear in his place, he stood forward and openly impugned the predestinarian doctrine as making God the author of sin; and maintained that election is the consequence of our faith, and not the source to which it is to be traced. The abettors of the doctrine which he opposed, he said, endeavoured to support it by certain passages culled from S. Augustine: but it was not the doctrine of that father or of other ancient doctors, but was derived from Laurentius Valla, who belonged only to the preceding age: and he concluded with warning the people against the false, scandalous, and pernicious dogmas which were delivered to them upon this topic. Calvin suffered his opponent to conclude his harangue without interruption, and then came forward from the seclusion in which he had been sitting: and, if we may not assume with his friends, that his reply was so conclusive and overpowering as to make every one except Bolsec himself blush for the rash assailant, we must in common candour, I conceive, admit that the unexpected occurrence gave occasion to a signal display of the reformer's promptitude and talent. He spoke for more than an hour in defence of the doctrine taught in the churches of Geneva, and in reply to all that had been urged against it; adducing from memory, not only so many passages of scripture, but so many testimonies from Augustine, "that it might have been supposed he had employed the whole day in collecting them." Farel happened then to be at Geneva, and present in the church: and he added a

short address in support of the principles of himself and his brethren, and in exposure of the wrong which was done them, in attributing to them that "most pestilent dogma of making God the author of sin"—which, he observed, Calvin had professedly refuted in his writings.

It might have been well had the friends of Calvin been content with their triumph over an unworthy adversary: but a magistrate who was present proceeded (according to the fashion of the times,) to inflict chastisement of another kind upon Bolsec, and committed him to prison for seditiously endeavouring to alienate the people from their ministers. During his imprisonment conferences were held with him by Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva; the particulars of which being taken down in writing were, at the request of the ministers, submitted to the churches of Zurich, Berne, and Basle, that their judgment might be had on the questions at issue. From their answers we are led on the whole to the conclusion, that the doctrine of Geneva on these points went somewhat beyond that of the neighbouring churches at this period, without being considered as furnishing the least ground of variance between them.

The result was that Bolsec was banished from Geneva on pain of being whipped if he should ever return, for his seditious conduct and Pelagian doctrine, and some add also for the scandals of his life: and, as he still caused much disturbance in the country, Berne soon after pronounced a like sentence against him.

The events which we have related gave occasion to Calvin's treatise on Predestination, which was published in the name of his co-pastors as well as his own.

But the flame which Bolsec had kindled was not extinguished by his removal. Sebastian Castellio, a name well known in the departments of biblical



translation and criticism, still fanned it, and disseminated doctrines in Switzerland which were charged as Pelagian. A Genevese also of the name of Troillet, who had assumed the character of a hermit in France, and on his return home had some years before occasioned trouble, by aiming, in opposition to Calvin, to force himself upon the people as one of their pastors, and on being disappointed had applied himself to the study of the law and become the advocate of the libertine party, availed himself of these disputes to give further disturbance to the reformer. It is pleasing to have to add, that this person some years after, on his deathbed, shewed signs of true repentance, and, sending for Calvin, confessed his faults to him, avowing that he could not die in peace without obtaining his forgiveness. Calvin attended him to the last, and administered to him the consolations of the gospel.<sup>1</sup>

We next come to that event in Calvin's life which has drawn upon him more obloquy and bitter reproach than any other part of his history—his doctrine of predestination always excepted. I refer to the death of Servetus. The substance of what I have to offer in the way of observation upon this painful occurrence may be comprised in one short sentence. For the fact or the practice of putting men to death even for the most enormous religious errors, no apology whatever is to be offered: but for the *persons* who, when it had been the approved practice of ages, concurred in it, or even in some instances promoted it, much excuse will be found in the breast of every honest man, who reflects how far he is himself influenced by the customs and sentiments of those around him, and the principles in which he has been brought up. That the reformers should so far have achieved the difficult task of

<sup>1</sup> The differences between Calvin and Melancthon on this subject are examined in Continuation of Milner, iii. 412-413.

rising superior to the prejudices, and established modes of thinking, of the age in which they lived, is much more just matter of astonishment than that they should in this instance have remained, unhappily, enslaved to them. Calvin was countenanced in what he did on this melancholy occasion by the general concurrence of those who were entitled to his respectful consideration; and even the mild and benevolent Melancthon "wondered that any persons could be found to disapprove the severity used!"

Michael Servetus was a native of Spain, born at Villeneuve in Arragon in the same year with Calvin, A. D. 1509. He was a man of an active vigorous mind, capable of applying himself to diversified pursuits. His profession was medicine, in which he attained superior skill, and is said, at least by his partisans, to have well-nigh anticipated our own illustrious countryman, Harvey, in the splendid discovery of the circulation of the blood. He applied also to the study of law and of theology; in the latter of which he was led away by a daring, self-confident, speculating spirit, into the extravagances of pantheism, virulent antitrinitarianism, materialism, and anabaptism, all combined together. At the early age of twenty-two, being then resident at Basle, he clandestinely printed at Haguenau his first work, "On the errors of the Trinity;" and the year following another, intitled "Dialogues concerning the Trinity." It was not long after this time that he avoided meeting Calvin at Paris, after having professed an earnest desire to discuss his sentiments with him.<sup>1</sup> About the year 1546 Calvin corresponded with him, while he was resident at Vienne, in the hope of reclaiming him from his errors; and he himself published thirty of his own letters to the reformer. In this correspondence Servetus assumed a high and boasting tone, telling Calvin "what stupendous and

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 325.

unheard of things he would see" in a volume of his writing which he sent him, and offering to come to Geneva if Calvin would countenance his so doing. Calvin however "declined to give him any pledge," and scrupled not to declare to his friends, that, "if Servetus came, and his influence could prevent it, he should not go away alive." This is much to be noted: because one of the imputations cast upon Calvin is, that he trepanned Servetus into his power, by encouraging him to come to Geneva. In 1552, while still residing at Vienne, Servetus procured his "Restitution of Christianity" to be secretly printed at Lyons: and for this work, which was filled with all his monstrous errors, and *that* it is said most offensively and blasphemously expressed, he was imprisoned. The enemies of Calvin have charged him with instigating the magistrates of Vienne to this proceeding against Servetus; and with putting into their hands the letters he had received from this arch-heretic: and it is true that they did obtain this correspondence, through the medium of a citizen of Lyons, then resident at Geneva; but this was after their proceedings against Servetus had been instituted: and the letters never were brought forward in those proceedings: and on the whole there appears no just ground for the accusation. In fact, Calvin affirms that Servetus had spread the report of his having informed against him, four years before his imprisonment at Vienne took place; and its fallacy had been demonstrated by his living unmolested till the publication of his last offensive work. Servetus made his escape from Vienne, and on 17 June, 1553, sentence of death was pronounced against him in his absence, and he was burned in effigy, together with five bales of his books. After his escape he roved about in Italy and elsewhere for some months, and then in an evil hour came to Geneva. It would seem that he did not intend to continue there: but, the fact of his presence in the city being made known

to Calvin, he was at his instance committed to prison. And, as the proceedings were first commenced against him, so were the next steps necessary to his prosecution taken, by a person nearly connected with Calvin, and, he himself acknowledges, put forward by him for the purpose. All this Calvin himself distinctly avows. The commitment of Servetus took place the 13th of August. He was forthwith subjected to examination, and a series of articles extracted from his writings was presented to him, which he was required to retract, deny, explain, or defend, as he should see good. For this as much time was allowed him as he chose to demand: and, as he conceived it would be to his advantage to make the last reply in his own defence, this too was granted him. Had he shewn any "moderation" and common prudence under these circumstances, Calvin affirms he might have saved his life: but, instead of seeking at all to conciliate favour, he conducted himself in the most insolent manner. "Fifty times over" he gave to Calvin the lie direct, applied to him the most opprobrious epithets, and styled him "Simon the sorcerer." The fact would seem to have been, that he confidently anticipated triumphing over his prosecutors by the aid of the powerful faction then opposed to Calvin.—On the 22d of August, Servetus, beginning to be alarmed for the issue, addressed a petition to the magistrates, urging, with sufficient propriety, that it was "a practice unknown to the apostles of Christ and to the ancient churches, to institute criminal proceedings against persons for their religious opinions; that, whatever he might have done elsewhere, he had published nothing at Geneva or within its dependencies which could give offence; that his writings were not addressed to the people but to the learned; (being in the Latin tongue;) and that he had no where shewn himself seditious or a disturber of the peace: and in fine he begged to have *counsel assigned him to conduct his cause.*" If it be

indeed true that to the prayer of this petition the following answer was returned, "That those who broached such impieties, as he had done, were not worthy to have an advocate allowed them:" we record it with pain: but it may be doubted whether the statement rests on sufficient authority. Further conferences were held with him, and further examinations taken; the particulars of which were all noted down: and, on Servetus's own appeal, copies of the whole, together with his late publication, were transmitted to the churches of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, for their opinion on the previous question of the heretical and blasphemous character of his opinions. They all agreed on the fact of Servetus's having propagated enormous heresies, contrary to the universally received doctrine of the Christian church; and that of Zurich, in particular, affirms the correctness with which the statement of those errors had been collected from his printed book. They further all implored of Almighty God that he would direct the syndics and senate of Geneva to a right course in so painful a case, hoping they would take care that "the poison should be spread no further by its present disseminator." Before sentence was pronounced some attempts were made, particularly by Perrin, to save the accused, or to refer his fate to the council of two hundred, which had the power of suspending or altering the penal laws: but they were made in vain, and he seems to have been condemned without a division. He was accordingly burned alive on the 27th of October, 1553—"shewing," says Beza, "no sign of repentance," but, adds Spon, discovering "a great dread of death." He is said, however, to have been "sufficiently collected to make a speech, in which he avowed his adherence to his former sentiments."—Calvin further informs us, that Servetus two hours before his execution sent for him, and "begged his pardon." Calvin, in reply, told him, that he had

ever thought of revenging himself on him for any personal injuries; and admonished him "with all mildness; reminding him that sixteen years before he had endeavoured, even at the risk of his own life, to reclaim him, and that it had not been through his fault that Servetus had not, by repentance, been restored to the friendship of all religious persons." After this, Calvin added, he had treated with him in private correspondence, without wishing to draw public attention, to the same purport; and had omitted no office of kindness, till, irritated by his unfruitful reproofs, Servetus had poured forth a torrent of abuse against him. Calvin then exhorted him to seek forgiveness of God; but, finding his admonitions unavailing, he desisted and withdrew.

Though Calvin avows, that "by his advice and exertions Servetus was in due course (*jure*) committed to prison; since by the established law of the city it was fit that he should be charged as a criminal;" yet he appeals to all good men to attest, and challenges bad men to deny if they can, that "after his conviction he uttered not a word concerning his punishment." And he writes to Farel that he had wished the severity (or cruelty) of the punishment to be remitted; that he had "endeavoured, but in vain, to change the kind of death he was to die."

Such, I trust, is a faithful statement of this sad case. I have had no wish to palliate the conduct of Calvin, except as the circumstances and the prevailing errors of the times mitigate its guilt. My anxiety has been to represent the transaction in its true light: and the general result is this—Calvin, by his own confession and avowal, was the first mover in the apprehension and prosecution of Servetus: he desired to see sentence of death passed, and I fear I must add executed upon him, though he would have preferred a less cruel mode of execution. I have admitted also that Servetus does not appear to have attempted, at least not to any great extent, to propagate his sen-

timents during his short residence, of perhaps one month, at Geneva previous to his imprisonment. But on the other hand, I confidently reject the charge of the reformer's being actuated by long-standing resentment, or indeed by any personal hostility to the heresiarch; together with every imputation of his attempting to draw Servetus to Geneva, in order to get him into his power. I treat in the same manner every insinuation of his having adopted clandestine proceedings against him, either before or after his arrival in that city; and all pretences of his having instigated the magistrates of Vienne against him, as betrayed his confidence whether to them or to others. Servetus's sending for him "to beg his pardon," which he did in the presence of two members of the senate and "many witnesses," is irreconcilable with the supposition that the unhappy man himself really thought that Calvin had been guilty of such dishonourable conduct towards him. And, finally, I think we are bound to believe, on the credit of Calvin's published appeal to both friends and enemies, that he took no steps to urge forward either the condemnation or the execution of Servetus, after his case had been once committed to the public prosecutor. This may seem to be no very important claim to make in his favour, after all that he is admitted to have said and done: but it rebuts the charge in answer to which he himself urges it, and which is still constantly repeated, that the senate of Geneva did but give effect to his decisions throughout the whole affair. Indeed ample proofs present themselves that this was not the fact. Recent instances have occurred in which the senate adopted measures immediately affecting religion without his privity;<sup>1</sup> and we shall soon see that that body was at this very time to a great degree under an influence directly opposed to Calvin.<sup>2</sup>

There is no need gratuitously, and much less ma-

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 353.

<sup>2</sup> Below, p. 374, 376.

liciously, to accumulate blame upon Calvin in this case: a sufficient load properly and by his own avowal belongs to him, without any such addition. But it was his deliberate and proclaimed conviction, apart from all personal enmity to Servetus, that such open impugnors or corrupters of divine truth deserved the severest punishment from the hands of the magistrate: nay that the magistrate criminally failed of his duty who neglected thus to visit their offences. He puts such offences on the same footing with theft, adultery, or murder; and supposes that no objections lie against the infliction of punishment in the one case, which do not equally hold against it in the other. But these were the errors not so much of the man as of the age. It is mere vulgar prejudice to refer them to Calvin's peculiar temper, and still more so to pretend that they are to be traced to his scheme of doctrine. They were common to him with almost all his brethren, whether of the Lutheran or of the reformed church. We have already heard the sentiment of the gentle Melancthon, expressing surprise that any could be found to object to what had been done in the case of Servetus. Bucer, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, P. Martyr, Beza, were all of the same mind: nor does it appear that one dissentient voice was raised against the proceeding in any of the four Swiss churches which were consulted by the senate of Geneva. Castellio alone, an opponent of Calvin on other subjects, ventured to write on the opposite side: and so conscious was he that he was going contrary to the sentiments of all around him, and should incur obloquy or even danger if he were known, that he wrote under a feigned name, and afterwards, Beza affirms, denied himself to be the author of the book; while Beza openly answered him, wishing to save the time of Calvin, who was then "better employed" in writing his Commentaries on Genesis.—And, if to charge these sentiments upon individuals, as rendering them peculiarly obnoxious, is unreason-



able and malicious, it is if possible still more absurd, and contrary to the truth of history, to impute to the reformation, and to the reformers as such, errors which their principles, so far from introducing, had only failed of eradicating, because they had not yet worked long enough, and widely enough, fully to attain their end. The reformers had received these notions "by tradition from their fathers," and as yet saw not how inconsistent they were with the great principles for which they were themselves contending. In the words of the sensible author of the "Memoirs of Literature," "The doctrine of non-toleration, which obtained in the sixteenth century among some protestants, was that pernicious error which they imbibed in the church of Rome: and I believe I can say, without doing any injury to that church, that she is in great measure answerable for the execution of Servetus." With that church persecution is the rule and principle; and at this very time she was acting extensively upon it: with protestants it is the exception, and a deviation, a lamentable deviation indeed, from their principles.—It may be easy for very ordinary persons in the present age to discern the fallacy of the reasonings by which such men as Calvin and Beza, Melancthon and Bullinger were imposed upon three hundred years ago; and it may be unspeakably easier still for shallow sceptics, who have never thought religious truth worth investigation, to express contempt and feel hatred for those who have regarded the perversion of its essential principles as poisoning the souls of men; and to stand aghast with horror at some solitary instance in which a person of this cast has imitated atrocities, which are viewed with comparative indifference when perpetrated on a wholesale scale by others: <sup>1</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> As a specimen of the treatment this case has met with, it may suffice to cite Gibbon. He says, "I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Auto da Fes of Spain and Portugal." He then refers us

those who really believe the scriptures must still feel, that even the worst errors, which such men have detected in the zealous assertors of divine truth, have been but as "motes in their eyes," compared with "the beam" which utterly obstructs the spiritual vision of these their accusers and calumniators.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time that the affair of Servetus was in progress Calvin had to encounter new and more artful attempts of the libertine faction. Philibert Bertelier, a citizen of Geneva, and registrar of one of the inferior courts of justice there, had on account of his

for the history to Chauffepie's continuation of Bayle's Dictionary, as furnishing "the best account" he has seen of the transaction. But who would believe that it is only by giving implicit credit to the calumnies which Chauffepie has employed himself in refuting, that Gibbon can pretend to support his own charges, of Calvin's zeal having been "envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy;" of his having "accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienne; and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of private correspondence," &c.—Mr. R. Watson, in his popular life of Mr. Wesley, has reprinted a passage from Mr. W.'s journals, in which he asserts, from an apparently very hasty examination of "Calvin's account of the case of Michael Servetus," when he happened to be in the Bodleian Library, that Servetus "often declares in terms, 'I believe the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God'"—leading us to infer that the charges of heresy brought against him were Calvin's calumnies! I can only say, that I have again examined Calvin's account for the express purpose of discovering any such declaration, but without finding any thing like it! I must believe, till the contrary is shewn, that here, as in other instances, Mr. Wesley has been misled by glances far too hasty to warrant the assertions he has founded upon them.

<sup>1</sup> Another striking proof how much persecution was the error of the age, and confined to no one class of persons, may be drawn from the case of one of the fathers of what is improperly called Unitarianism. Faustus Socinus and Francis David, the superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania, both held in common that Christ was a mere man. Socinus however was still in favour of praying to him, because to do otherwise would expose their sect to odium; while David, much more consistently, disapproved that practice. The difference was immensely less than that between Calvin and Servetus; yet David, having disputed with Socinus on the point, died in prison in consequence of his opinion, and his alleged indiscreet propagation of it from the pulpit. Had David differed as much from Socinus as Servetus did from Calvin, and had the magistrates been willing to burn the former for his error, would Socinus have refused his concurrence?

flagitious life been excluded by the consistory from the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Piqued by this disgrace, prompted by Perrin, and supported by the disaffected party at large, he applied to the senate, or lesser council, demanding absolution by their authority. As any attempt to comply with such a demand would obviously have been subversive of the established discipline, and indeed of all church order, Calvin on behalf of the whole consistory strenuously opposed it. Such however was the cry raised against the 'usurpations of the church,' that, on the question being brought before the grand council of two hundred, that body passed a resolution, that the final decision on all cases of excommunication should be vested in the senate: and from the senate Bertelier actually obtained letters of absolution, though the same body had previously, after examination of the case, pronounced him justly excommunicated. This fact clearly demonstrates how far Calvin was from dictating, at his pleasure, all the measures of the government of Geneva which related to religion. Such a consummation, as they flattered themselves it must prove, was hailed by Perrin and all the enemies of Calvin as a complete triumph. He must sink, they concluded, under senatorian authority and popular tumult combined together, should he venture to resist: and, if he yielded, the abhorred discipline, and with it the chief restraint upon the vicious, was at an end. Nor was time allowed for deliberation; much less for arranging measures to parry or evade the blow. It wanted only two days to the appointed celebration of the sacrament on the third of September. The resolution however of Calvin was taken, and he was not to be daunted. He first procured the senate to be called together, stated his views and his determination, and endeavoured, but in vain, to induce them to revoke their indulgence granted to Bertelier. But receiving for answer, that the "senate changed nothing in their former decision," he, in

preaching on the Sunday morning previously to the administration, in a solemn tone and with uplifted hand uttered severe denunciations against profaners of the holy mysteries: "and for my own part," said he, "after the example of Chrysostom, I avow that I will suffer myself to be slain at the table, rather than allow this hand to deliver the sacred symbols of the Lord's body and blood to adjudged despisers of God." This was uttered with such authority and produced such an effect, that Perrin himself immediately whispered to Bertelier that he must not present himself as a communicant. He accordingly withdrew: and the sacred ordinance, says Beza, "was celebrated with a profound silence, and under a solemn awe in all present, as if the Deity himself had been visible among them. Still the decree had passed which laid the axe to the root of what Calvin esteemed the rightful, as well as established authority of the church. It did not therefore satisfy him to have succeeded in excluding Bertelier on the present occasion: but, in his sermon in the afternoon of the same day, taking for his subject the farewell address of S. Paul to the elders of Ephesus, (Acts xx,) he adverted to the existing state of things; and protesting, "I am not the man who will either myself resist rulers or teach others to do so;" and exhorting the people to persevere steadfastly in the doctrine they had been taught; he added: "And now, brethren, since affairs have come to that pass that I can no longer serve with advantage to you, or so as to maintain my own principles, let me bid you farewell, and say with the apostle, 'I commend you to God and to the word of his grace.'" Even the profligate, we are told, were struck dumb by his address, while the good were confirmed and admonished of their duty: and so much did Calvin feel that he had gained by the proceedings of the sabbath, that the next day, accompanied by his colleagues and the whole consistory, he proceeded to demand of the senate and the

grand council, that laws, established as those of the ecclesiastical regimen had been by the whole people duly assembled, should be abrogated or altered by no inferior authority. The consequence was, that the decree of the council was suspended; it was resolved on the proposal of Perrin and his party, to consult the other reformed states of Switzerland, where the power of excommunication was not vested in the consistories; and, their answers being received, the polity and discipline were again confirmed by the common suffrages of the citizens, to the utter disappointment and confusion of the malcontent faction.

Before this final decision, however, the storm, which was averted from the head of Calvin, threatened to fall on that of Farel. Early in this year that reformer had been visited at Neuchâtel, under a dangerous illness, by Calvin; who left him apparently in dying circumstances. Beyond expectation he recovered: and, returning his friend's visit at Geneva, he used that freedom, to which by his age, his character, his former connexion with the city, and the eminent services he had rendered its inhabitants, he was well entitled, in animadverting unreservedly on the evils which prevailed among them. This was now made the subject of accusation against him, and he was summoned from Neuchâtel to answer the capital charge! He accordingly appeared at Geneva, though not without personal danger; as the factious citizens clamoured, that, according to their summary mode of punishment, he should be thrown from the bridge into the Rhone. Protectors however were raised up to defend him against such a danger, and to rescue the city from such a disgrace. Perrin himself was warned to beware how he inflicted any evil on "the common parent of the citizens:" and so decided was the general feeling in his favour that his accusers became anxious for their own safety, and were ready to move for his acquittal. Thus was God's faithful servant brought off with honour, and the sentence

strikingly illustrated, "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

"Thus," observes Beza, "was this whole year spent in contending either for sound doctrine, or for wholesome discipline—and with a prosperous issue on all sides, save for the wound which not England alone but all Christian churches suffered in the premature death of that most pious prince, king Edward VI."—This year also, he adds, Calvin published his excellent Commentaries on S. John. He dedicated them to the senate in an epistle which alludes to passing events.

The transaction we have related, to which Bertelier gave occasion, and indeed the whole of Calvin's proceedings for the establishment of his discipline after his recall to Geneva in the year 1541, are very keenly, in some points rather too keenly, reviewed by Hooker in continuation of a passage above referred to. He appears to me in both passages not sufficiently to advert to the licentious character of the persons opposed to Calvin; but to consider the subject in debate too exclusively as the presbyterian discipline—a form of government, however, of which he still speaks with great moderation. That conduct also of Calvin's, in the very crisis of the controversy, which in these pages has appeared as masterly and heroic, he seems to consider as little more than tragical acting. The view we take of it must depend upon Calvin's sincerity in the determination which he expressed to risk his life in the cause, and to quit his station if he were defeated: and of his entire sincerity in these respects I seem to discover sufficient evidence in his private correspondence. To enter further into the subject would be unsuitable to this place.<sup>1</sup>

We proceed with the sequel of the story. By some

<sup>1</sup> The quotation from Hooker is given, and these points are more fully considered in *Contin. of Milner*, vol. iii. p. 443—442.

subsequent proceedings the libertine faction finally ruined their own cause, and to a great degree relieved the city for the future from the trouble which they had long occasioned. Geneva, as has been already hinted, partly from the civil and religious liberty there to be enjoyed by the professors of the reformed faith, and partly from the fame of Calvin, became the favourite resort of great numbers, who, from persecution, or on other grounds connected with religion, withdrew from their respective countries. Especially this was the case with the French protestants. The government found it advantageous to admit many of these to the privilege of the bourgeoisie, through which they found access also to the councils. Thus the state was strengthened by persons of respectability and intelligence. It raised however the jealousy of the disaffected to see foreigners thus share the privileges of citizenship, and perhaps (as their merits entitled them,) introduced to rank and office before themselves. Most also of these persons having come to Geneva with a strong prepossession in favour of Calvin, and having now profited by his ministry and by other services received from him, greatly strengthened his hands: which rendered them still more obnoxious to those who desired nothing so much as to overthrow and trample under foot the system of restraint which he had established. Incited by feelings of this kind, and defeated in their attempts to induce the government to change its policy, these persons now became desperate, and entered into a conspiracy to massacre the refugees, particularly those of the French nation: and, under the leading of Perrin and Peter Vandel, they raised a violent sedition for this purpose. Bertelier also bore his part in it. The rash and wicked attempt, as might have been anticipated, failed of success, and the leaders in consequence fled. Several others, the next in criminality, suffered death, and Perrin, Vandel, and Bertelier were, in their absence sentenced to lose their heads,

with other circumstances of severity supposed to be proportionate to their respective degrees of guilt : and, their persons being out of reach, the several sentences were executed on their effigies.

Among the number of the refugees above referred to, one stood so much distinguished by his rank, his character, his eventful history, and his friendship with Calvin, as well to deserve particular mention. This was Galeazzo Caraccioli, eldest son of the marquis of Vico, (one of the grandees of Naples,) and by his mother's side nephew to pope Paul IV. His history has been so well sketched by Dr. M'Crie, that I cannot do better than avail myself of his labours. At the age of twenty, Galeazzo married Vittoria, daughter to the duke of Nuceria, who brought him a large fortune, and bore him six children. He was called to attendance upon the emperor Charles V, who had been under obligations to his family; and, "his personal accomplishments, the uniform correctness of his manners, his affability, and the talents he discovered for public business, led all who knew him to anticipate his gradual and certain advancement in worldly honours. Serious impressions, accompanied with a conviction of the errors of the church of Rome, were made on his mind by Valdes and (Peter) Martyr, at the time that the protestant tenets were secretly embraced by many individuals in Naples; and his religious dispositions were cherished by the advices of that pious and elegant scholar, Marc-Antonio Flaminio." Intercourse with the protestants of Germany still further deepened the impressions he had received: and after his return to Naples, having, in consequence of the severe measures lately resorted to against all who deviated from the established religion, failed in his attempts to induce such of his countrymen as held the same views with himself to meet together in private for their mutual edification, he at length arrived at the painful conviction that it was his duty to leave father, and wife,



and children, (since he could induce none of them to join him,) as well as houses and lands, for Christ's sake and the gospel's. "The sacrifice of his secular dignities and possessions did not cost him a sigh; but, as often as he reflected on the distress which his departure would inflict on his aged father, . . . on his wife whom he loved and by whom he was loved tenderly, and on the dear pledges of their union, he was thrown into a state of unutterable anguish, and started back with horror from the resolution to which conscience had brought him. At length, by a heroic effort of zeal, . . . he came to the determination of bursting the tenderest ties which perhaps ever bound man to country and kindred." Availing himself therefore of the pretext of public business which he had to transact with the emperor, he set out for Augsburg, whence he speedily repaired to Geneva. He was in consequence deprived of all the property which he inherited from his mother. Repeatedly, at the risk of his life, he ventured into Italy to meet his father: but he was never permitted to see his family—though he incurred the same danger for that object also—till after seven years' voluntary exile. The account of this meeting and of the final parting by which it was followed is deeply affecting. He entreated his wife to accompany him to Geneva, promising her the free exercise of her religion under his roof. But "her confessor had inculcated upon her that it was a damnable sin to cohabit with a heretic," and after many protestations of affection she finally replied, that she could not reside in a place where any other religion than that of the church of Rome was professed, nor live with him as her husband so long as he was infected with heresy. On taking leave of his father he was dismissed "with reproaches and curses." "On quitting his father's apartment he had to undergo a still severer trial of his sensibility. He found his wife and children, with a number of his friends waiting for him in the hall. Bursting

into tears, and embracing her husband, Vittoria besought him not to leave her a widow, and her babes fatherless. The children joined in the entreaties of their mother; and the eldest daughter, a fine girl of thirteen, grasping his knees, refused to part with him. How he disengaged himself he knew not; for the first thing which brought him to recollection was the noise made by the sailors on reaching the opposite shore of the gulf of Venice." The scene, he declared, long haunted his mind both in dreams by night and reveries by day.—He ever enjoyed the highest respect at Geneva, where the freedom of the city was conferred upon him, a house was allotted to him by the public, and he was admitted a member both of the great and small council. After he had remained nine years in exile without any hope of enjoying the society of his family, except on the condition of renouncing his religion, he took a step respecting which, though no one perhaps has any right to condemn it,<sup>1</sup> "we feel," according to the remark of Dr. M'Crie, "as if it detracted" somewhat "from the high unsullied virtue which he had hitherto displayed," and "gave occasion of reproach to the keen adversaries of the reformation." "He consulted Calvin on the propriety of contracting a second marriage. That reformer, who took a deep interest in the character of his noble friend, felt great scruples as to the expediency of this step, but ultimately gave his approbation to it, after he had consulted the divines of Switzerland and the Grisons. Accordingly, the courts of Geneva having legally pronounced a sentence of divorce against Vittoria, on the ground of her obstinate refusal to live with her husband, he married Anne Fremijere, the widow of a French refugee from Rouen, with whom he continued to live happily in a state of dignified frugality." Having narrowly escaped being involved in the massacre of

<sup>1</sup> See 1 Cor. vii. 15.

S. Bartholomew's day at Paris, he continued to reside, with but little interruption, at Geneva till his death, which happened in 1586, in the sixty eighth year of his age.

But to return to Calvin. In the manner that we have above seen, he was henceforward in great measure delivered from the persecution of the libertines. Still however he wanted neither services to occupy, nor errors and disorders to trouble him. The predestinarian controversy was revived or still carried on by Bolsec and Castellio, who were supported by some ministers of the neighbourhood, and still urged against him the charge of "making God the author of sin; because," says Beza, "he taught that nothing is excepted from the eternal providence and appointment of God." This carried him to Berne to explain and defend his doctrine there, where symptoms had before appeared of a disinclination to admit it. The result was, that both his opponents were henceforward excluded, as one of them had already been, from that canton. Now also he had to encounter Westphal, of Hamburg, on the sacramental question. The persecutions both of France and England greatly distressed him. The discords of the English refugees at Francfort, and other places, one with another, chiefly respecting ceremonies, called forth his zealous endeavours to restore peace among them. He at the same time carried on an extensive correspondence with well-disposed and influential persons in Poland, (including even the king himself,) for the purpose of promoting a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of religion in that country.

But that which gave most pain to Calvin at this period, as more nearly affecting his own immediate sphere of labour, was the rise of a number of persons in the Italian church at Geneva, as from the ashes of Servetus, infected with antitrinitarian errors, and aiming in different ways to spread their heretical tenets. The names of Alciati, a military officer from

Milan, Blandrata, a physician, from Piemont, Mathew Gribaldo, an eminent lawyer, who had taken up his residence at Fargias, a villa in the neighbouring district of Gex, and Valentine Gentilis, a native of Cosenza in Calabria, attained a bad eminence in this line. Most of these heretical persons were driven from Switzerland, and thence migrated into Moravia, Poland, and Transylvania.

A letter of this period, preserved in Calvin's correspondence, connects his name with, I presume, the very earliest attempt made to establish any thing like a protestant mission in the heathen world. That the reformers should not at this early period have engaged in missions for the propagation of the Christian faith in new regions, even had the subject been brought distinctly before them, can hardly excite surprise when their circumstances are considered. They might not improperly be regarded as missionaries themselves, labouring, though not in the midst of a heathen, yet, they were too well assured, in the midst of an idolatrous population. They were at present too much engaged in contending for existence at home, to turn their thoughts to conquests abroad: and in general they could not find ministers to supply the demand on the spot, so far from having them to spare for distant stations. But the letter to which I refer, implies an attempt of the kind. It is from Peter Richer, and is dated "from Gallia Antartica, 31 March, 1557." This Antarctic Gaul, it appears, was the coast of Brazil, where the writer (whose language is that of a pious and devoted minister,) had recently landed. A colony had been sent to that country from France in the year 1555, the admiral de Coligni promoting the measure with all his influence, in the hope of providing in a distant country an asylum for his protestant brethren, who were persecuted and proscribed at home. The colony was formed under the command of Villegagnon, an officer high in the French naval service. He himself

had embraced the reformed religion, and was eager for a time to cooperate with the admiral. He in consequence wrote to Coligni requesting further reinforcements, particularly some good ministers from Geneva to plant the Christian faith in the new world. He addressed a letter also to Calvin, to the same effect: and in consequence Richer and several others from Geneva, accompanied by numerous French protestants, embarked at Harfleur in three ships furnished by the crown. On their arrival at Rio de Janeiro, they were received by Villegagnon with the greatest demonstrations of joy. But, won over, as it is supposed, by the cardinal of Lorraine, that commander soon after became, instead of the protector, the persecutor of the protestants; the ministers were sent home under circumstances of the greatest cruelty, with the intention that they should either perish at sea, or be committed to the flames as heretics on their arrival in France. And thus the whole design had a speedy and disastrous issue.

From this period Calvin began to experience those attacks of more serious indisposition, which gradually increased upon him, and made his remaining years years of so much suffering as would have laid most men aside from their labours, though it scarcely diminished his. In 1556 he was seized first in the pulpit with an intermitting fever, which obliged him to desist from his discourse. Not long after however he undertook a journey to Francfort, to appease some discords which had arisen in the French church at that place. He returned in poor health, but persisted in his labours both public and private; and the next year published his commentary on the book of Psalms, with a preface which has been considered as peculiarly excellent. In 1558 he was attacked again and much more seriously with intermitting fever, which hung upon him for eight months, and so much weakened his already reduced and feeble frame, that he

never fully recovered from its effects. Being now necessarily restrained from preaching and lecturing, he exerted himself the more diligently with his pen, and by dictating numberless letters; and also revised for the last time his Christian Institutes, both in French and Latin, and almost wrote over again his commentary on Isaiah—frequently observing, that “nothing was so painful to him as his present idle life:” while Beza remarks, that *his* idleness, when sick, might have wearied his healthy brethren.

The following year, the building and endowment of the college or university of Geneva was completed, and it was opened to six hundred students. Beza, called from the Greek professorship at Lausanne, which he had held for ten years, was appointed rector, while Calvin contented himself with the office of professor of divinity.

At the beginning of this year, the celebrated Scotch reformer John Knox, after having resided for some time at Geneva, took his final departure for his own country, and was on that occasion honoured with the freedom of the city. We feel surprised to find that the like mark of respect was not conferred on Calvin till the close of the same year. In the month of August following Knox wrote to Calvin a favourable account of the success of his labours in Scotland, and proposed to him two questions: 1. Whether the children of excommunicated persons and idolaters (papists) ought to be admitted to baptism, before their parents professed repentance, and were thus reconciled to the church: 2. Whether monks and mass-priests, who, though they now acknowledged their errors, neither served nor were capable of serving the church, should be allowed a maintenance from the funds which had been set apart for religious purposes. Knox, it seems, had decided both these questions in the negative. Will it afford pleasure or *disappointment* to learn that his correspondent took *more liberal views* with respect to them?

The celebrated conferences at Poissy between the Romanists and the French protestants, at which the king and queen and other royal and exalted personages presided, occurred in 1561. Beza from Geneva and Peter Martyr from Zurich attended, by special invitation, and were received with great honour: and the former remained in France nearly two years. Calvin likewise was invited, but his health, and perhaps also other circumstances, did not permit him to go. He took however a lively interest in all that passed. On this occasion he drew up for the French protestants a confession of faith, which, being presented at the conference, and otherwise adopted and confirmed by them, gave occasion to their being denominated *Calvinistic*. He repeated that service the next year, at the request of the prince of Condé in a short formulary exhibited to the diet of the empire at Francfort, to vindicate the French protestants from the calumnies spread against them in Germany.

In the year 1563, amid great and increasing infirmities, he continued to dictate numerous letters and papers, and to give advice to those who consulted him from various quarters. He composed two earnest admonitions to the people of Poland against the anti-trinitarians; published his commentaries on four out of the five books of Moses in Latin, and also translated them into French; and commenced his commentary on Joshua, which was his last work, and was finished only just before his death. Nor did he, as long as he was able to get abroad, neglect the ordinary pastoral duty of visiting the sick. Thus was this faithful servant found, when his Lord came, "with his loins girded and his lamp burning."

On the 6th of February, 1564, he with great difficulty, arising particularly from asthmatic oppression, preached to the congregation: but it was for the last time. He taught no more in public, except as from time to time, to the last day of March, he was carried to church, and spoke a few words to the people, but

not in any continued address. Multiplied diseases weighed him down, and the shades of death began to gather around him.—Beza gives the following account of his constitution, his habits, and his present distressing state, when a complication of disorders had made their united attack upon him.—“He was naturally of a spare and feeble frame, of a sallow complexion and bilious habit, tending to consumption. He was subject to severe headaches, from which strict abstinence alone afforded him relief. Hence for more than ten years together he took only one meal in the day, generally in the evening; and frequently he fasted for thirty-six hours together. His digestion was bad: and his sleep scarcely deserved the name. Five years before his death he was attacked by a spitting of blood: and, when his long-continued intermitting fever left him, that “host” of disorders to which we have alluded, and which he himself enumerates—asthma, gout, stone, gravel, cholic, and a severe hemorrhoidal affection—began to shew themselves. He strictly observed the directions of his medical attendants, but otherwise, and when not under their care, he suffered nothing to interrupt his work: preaching often under a headach which would have confined most men to their couch.”—Amid all the sufferings under which he languished for three months, we are told, not an impatient word escaped him. Sometimes he would direct his eyes upwards, and simply say, “How long, O Lord?” a phrase which during his health he had often had on his lips when he received tidings of the calamities of his brethren, or reflected on the oppressions of the church:<sup>1</sup> or he would repeat the words of David, “I held my peace because THOU didst it:” or those of Isaiah, “I did mourn as a dove.” And again he was overheard saying, “Thou bruiseest me, O Lord, but it amply suffices me that it is THY hand.”

<sup>1</sup> Rev. vi. 9—11.



Still he persisted in dictating and writing as he was able, and, when entreated by his friends to forbear, he replied, "Would you have my Lord find me idle when he cometh?"

On the 10th of March his brother ministers coming to him, as they frequently did, found him sitting at the table at which he was accustomed to study. He sat silent for a short time, resting his head on his hand, as his manner was when thinking; and then, with a kind and cheerful countenance, he warmly thanked them for all their attentions to him, and told them he still hoped at a fortnight's end (when the stated time recurred,) to meet them in the consistory, but *for the last time*; for by that period, said he, "I think the Lord will manifest his pleasure concerning me, and will probably take me to himself." He accordingly did attend the consistory on the 23d of March; and when the business was over he observed, that some further continuance seemed to be appointed for him. He then took up a French Testament with notes, which he was correcting, and asked his brethren's opinion on some points. He suffered however for this exertion. On the 27th, having a new tutor to propose for the college, he caused himself to be carried to the senate-house, and being supported by his friends walked into the hall; when uncovering his head he returned thanks to the senate for all the kindness they had shewn him, especially during his illness. With a faltering voice he then added, "I think I have entered this house for the last time;" and took his leave, tears being shed on both sides. On the 2d of April, which was Easter day, he was carried to church, and received the sacrament from the hands of Beza, joining in the hymn with such an expression of joy in his countenance as attracted the notice of the congregation. On the 25th he sent for a notary and dictated his will, which he signed, and the next day caused to be read over to Beza and the other ministers,

and attested by them in his presence. His worldly goods, the value of which, including his library, he had pretty accurately calculated, scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns. He made his brother Anthony nominally his heir, but begged that he would be contented with a silver salver for his share, (a present which Calvin had received,) and would divide the remainder among his children and other relations, the college, and the poor.

But the part of Calvin's will which will be chiefly interesting to us is that in which he declares his faith and ground of dependence, and the view which now, in the near prospect of death, he took of his past course. It is as follows: "First of all I give thanks to God, that, taking compassion on me, (whom he had created and placed in this world,) not only did he deliver me out of the deep darkness of idolatry in which I was immersed, that he might bring me into the light of his gospel, and make me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was most unworthy: nor only, of the same goodness and mercy, did graciously and kindly bear with my many sins, for which I deserved to be rejected by him and destroyed, but did also exercise towards me so great clemency and condescension as to deign to employ me in preaching and publishing the truth of his gospel: and I testify and declare that it is my purpose to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion which he has delivered to me in his gospel; and that I have no other confidence or refuge for my salvation than his gratuitous adoption, on which alone my salvation depends: and with my whole heart I embrace the mercy which he has shewn to me for the sake of Jesus Christ, atoning for my crimes by the merits of *his* death and passion, that by it satisfaction may be made for all my offences, and the remembrance of them blotted out. I further testify and declare that I humbly implore of him, that he will grant me so to be washed and purified

by the blood of that great Redeemer, which was shed for the sins of the human race,<sup>1</sup> that I may stand before his tribunal under the image (or form) of the Redeemer himself. I likewise declare that, according to the measure of grace and mercy which God has shewn to me, I have made it my endeavour, both in my preaching and in my writings and commentaries, purely and uncorruptly to expound his scriptures: and I testify and declare that, in all the controversies and disputes in which I have been engaged with the enemies of the gospel, I have made use of no corrupt and sophistical arts, but have aimed candidly and sincerely to defend the truth.—But, alas for me! that study and zeal of mine (if it may deserve the name of zeal,) has been so remiss and languid, that I confess my failures of worthily performing this service to have been innumerable; so that, but for the boundless goodness of God, all my endeavours must have been fruitless and vain. I confess also that, but for the same divine goodness, the endowments of mind which God has bestowed on me must have made me only the more chargeable with guilt and unprofitableness, before his tribunal. And on these grounds I testify and declare that I hope in no other source of salvation than this one, that, since God is the Father of mercy, he will shew himself a Father to me, who confess myself a miserable sinner.—As to what remains, my will is, that after my departure out of this life my body be committed to the ground, in the manner accustomed in this church and city, till the day of the blessed resurrection shall come.”—He then proceeds to dispose of “the little patrimony which God had bestowed upon him,” in the manner before recited.

Here every truly humble Christian, however little able to follow Calvin in his learned theological researches, or to receive some of those high doctrines

<sup>1</sup> It was no tenet of Calvin's that Christ died only for a part of mankind.—See Con. of Milner, iii. 599—601.

which to him appeared clearly deducible from scripture, and even from the fundamental principles of Christianity, will feel that he is "of one heart and of one soul" with him. To this point must the profoundest divine, the most devoted minister, the most successful labourer, come in common with the veriest babe in Christ. Every Christian in looking forward to the great tribunal must feel himself compelled, and heartily disposed, to confess himself to the last "a miserable sinner:" to cry, "'Unclean, unclean!' Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord!" Pardon the iniquities even of my holy things! Regard me only as in Christ! In his merits, and in his alone, let me stand before thee, "for in thy sight shall no man living be justified!"—At the same time we discern in this champion of the doctrine of grace, what was united in the apostle, and may perfectly well be united in us, with all this self-abasement and conscious unworthiness, and this sole dependence on Christ, a "rejoicing in the testimony of his conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with carnal wisdom, but by the grace of God he had had his conversation in the world." Indeed the two must go together in order to our "having confidence before God:" not that the latter is to add any thing to the ground of our dependence, but to give assurance to ourselves and others that we have *buildd aright* upon that "only foundation" which is laid for us, and have not deceived ourselves with "a dead faith."—Let that man doubt the sincerity of Calvin's protestations, made in the immediate view of the divine tribunal, who feels himself *able* to do it. Let any man who stands, as so many do, even bitterly opposed to him, shew, if he can, a more firm and more humble confidence, a more truly Christian state of mind, in the near prospect of eternity.

After having thus despatched the business of his will, Calvin sent to inform the syndics and "all the members of the senate," that he wished once more to

address them in their hall, whither he hoped the next day to be carried for the purpose. They begged him to have regard to what his health would bear, and promised to attend him at his own house. Accordingly they came to him the next day "from the senate-house." After mutual salutations, and an apology on his part for bringing them to wait upon him instead of his waiting upon them, he proceeded to address them to a purport which he had for some time meditated, but had chosen to defer till he had a sure foresight of his approaching dissolution. He renewed his thanks for the great kindness he had experienced from them, the honours they had conferred on him, and the forbearance they had manifested towards his infirmities, particularly "his vehemence," which he confessed had "sometimes exceeded due bounds." He was bound to acknowledge, he said, that God had been pleased to employ him in rendering them some service, and in his heart he had been ever devoted to their republic: but he was conscious of his many deficiencies. Where he had failed he hoped they would forgive him, and impute it to his want of ability rather than his want of will to serve them: and he trusted that God had pardoned all his offences. With respect however to his doctrine, he could solemnly declare that he had not taught rashly and uncertainly, but had delivered purely and sincerely the word of God with which he was put in trust. Had he done otherwise, he must have been as much assured of God's anger impending over him, as he now was that his labours as a teacher had not been unacceptable to the Divine Majesty. "And this," said he, "I am the more anxious to testify, because I cannot doubt that Satan, as his practice is, will raise up heady, light-minded, ungodly men to corrupt the sound doctrine which you have heard from me." Then, passing to the many and great benefits which they had received from Almighty God, he said, "I am the person who can

best testify from what dangers the hand of the Lord hath delivered you. You see now in what situation you stand. Whether therefore your affairs be prosperous or adverse, I entreat you to keep this ever in your minds, that it is Almighty God who alone can give stability to kingdoms and states: and with that view it is his pleasure to be worshipped and invoked by mortal men." He reminded them of David's fall when he was in the enjoyment of full prosperity: charged them to walk humbly with their God: and to rely solely on his protection, as the only and all-sufficient source of safety. "But," he added, "if you would have this republic continue in security, see to it that the sacred seat of authority, in which God has placed you, be not defiled with sin: for 'them that honour him he will honour, but they that despise him shall be lightly esteemed.' . . . I know," said he, "the temper and manners of you all, and I feel that you need exhortation. . . . Let each one look to himself, and what he finds wanting in him let him ask of God. . . . I admonish the elder not to despise their juniors whom God hath endowed with promising talents. I warn those younger persons to conduct themselves with modesty, and to watch against presumption. Shun contentions, and all that acrimony which in public affairs has diverted so many from the right course. . . . Resist every sinister aim and selfish affection: regard Him who has placed you in your station of honour, and seek his Holy Spirit. . . . Again, I pray you to pardon all my infirmities, which I acknowledge and confess before God and his angels, and here before you, my venerable lords." He prayed Almighty God to shower down upon them more abundantly the gifts of his grace, and good providence, and by his Holy Spirit to direct all their consultations to the good of the whole republic. He then shook hands with each of them, and they took *their leave of him with tears, "parting from him as from a common parent."*

The following day (April 28,) by his desire all the ministers under the jurisdiction of Geneva came to him, and he addressed them to the following effect: "Stand fast, my brethren, after my decease, in the work on which you have entered, and let not your hearts fail you, for the Lord will preserve this church and republic against all its enemies. Far from you be all discords among yourselves: embrace one another in mutual charity. Think what you owe to this church, in which the Lord hath stationed you, and desert it not. . . . When first I came to this city, the gospel indeed was preached, but every thing was in disorder—as if Christianity had consisted in nothing else than the overturning of images. Not a few wicked men were found in the church, from whom I suffered much shameful treatment: but the Lord our God so strengthened me, even me who am by nature far from bold, (I here speak what is the fact,)<sup>1</sup> that I yielded to none of their attempts. I afterwards returned hither from Strasburg, in obedience to a call which was against my inclination because I thought it tended not to usefulness: for I knew not what the Lord had appointed; and the situation was full of the most serious difficulties. But, proceeding in my work, I found at length that the Lord had really blessed my labours. Do you therefore also persist in your vocation: uphold the established order: and see that the people be at the same time retained in obedience to the doctrine delivered to them: for some are yet wicked and contumacious. Things, as you see, are now not ill settled: on which account you will be the more criminal before God if by your neglect they are suffered to go to decay.—I avow that I have lived united with you, brethren, in the strictest bonds of true and sincere affection: and I take my leave of you with the same feelings. If you have at any time found me harsh or

<sup>1</sup> We should rather take Bayle's assertion, "He was frightened at nothing," as descriptive of his natural character.

peevish under my affliction, I entreat your forgiveness." He then returned them his warmest thanks for having taken upon them the burden of his duties, while he was unable to discharge them; shook hands with them all; and "we took leave of him," says Beza, "with sad hearts, and by no means with dry eyes."

On the second of May, having received a letter from Farel, (now an old man of seventy-five, and in infirm health,) stating that he had determined to come to see him from Neuchâtel, he wrote to him the following brief and affectionate reply: "Farewell, my best and most faithful brother! and, since it is God's pleasure that you should survive me in this world, retain the remembrance of our friendship, which has been useful to the church of God, and the fruits of which await us in heaven. Do not expose yourself to fatigue for my sake. I respire with difficulty, and continually expect my breath to fail me: but it is enough that to Christ I both live and die, who to his people in life and death 'is gain.' Again, farewell with the brethren." The good old man however came to Geneva according to his purpose, and, after an interview with his sinking friend, returned the next day to Neuchâtel.

"The remainder of his days," Beza tells us, "Calvin passed in almost perpetual prayer. His voice indeed was interrupted by the difficulty of his respiration; but his eyes (which to the last retained their brilliancy,) uplifted to heaven, and the expression of his countenance, shewed the fervour of his supplications. His doors," Beza proceeds, "must have stood open day and night, if all had been admitted who from sentiments of duty and affection wished to see him: but, as he could not speak to them, he requested they would testify their regard by praying for him, rather than by troubling themselves about seeing him. Often also, though he ever shewed himself glad to receive me, he intimated a scruple



respecting the interruption thus given to my employments: so thrifty was he of time which ought to be spent in the service of the church." The 19th of May was the day on which the ministers were again to meet on the affairs of the church, and at this time with special reference to the celebration of the sacrament at Whitsuntide. On these occasions he was accustomed to partake of a friendly meal with them: and he would now have the meeting held and supper prepared at his house. When the time came, he caused himself to be removed from his bed to the room in which they were assembled, and thus briefly addressed them: "I come to you for the last time, never more to sit down with you at table." He then offered up a short prayer, took a small portion of food, and conversed with them for a little time in a cheerful manner: but before supper was finished he was obliged to be carried back to his chamber. He looked pleasantly upon his friends as he went out, and said, "This will not prevent my being present with you in spirit." He never afterwards left his bed. On the 27th of May, he spoke with less difficulty and in a stronger voice: but this was the last effort of nature. At about eight o'clock in the evening the symptoms of dissolution suddenly came on. Beza, who had recently left him, was sent for, and on hastening to the house found that he had expired. He had departed without even a sigh, and in the full possession of his powers to the last. Lamentation prevailed throughout the city on his decease. Multitudes flocked to see his corpse: and among them the English ambassador to the French court, who had come to Geneva to see and hear him. At first all comers were freely admitted: but afterwards, to prevent inconvenience, and the perverse representations which might be made of such an exhibition, this was restrained: and the next day but one, (being Sunday,) at two o'clock in the afternoon, his remains were interred, according to the

directions which he had himself given, in a grave in the common burying place, called Plein-Palais, without any monument or inscription to distinguish the place. His funeral however was attended by the members of the senate, the pastors and other ministers of the city, the professors of the college, and a great proportion of the citizens at large, who testified their sense of the loss they had sustained by the strong emotion which they manifested.

He lived, says Beza, " fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days; half of which time he passed in the sacred ministry. His stature was of a middle size, his complexion (as already stated,) dark and palid, his eyes brilliant even till death, expressing the acuteness of his understanding. He lived nearly without sleep. His power of memory was almost incredible; and his judgment so sound, that his decisions often seemed almost oracular. In his words he was sparing; and he despised an artificial eloquence: yet was he an accomplished writer: and, by the accuracy of his mind, and his practice of dictating to an amanuensis, he attained to speak little differently from what he would have written. The consistency and uniformity of his doctrine, from first to last, are scarcely to be paralleled. Nature had formed him grave; yet in the intercourse of social life no one shewed more suavity. He exercised great forbearance towards all such infirmities in others as are consistent with integrity—not overawing his weaker brethren: but towards flattery, and every species of insincerity, especially where religion was concerned, he was severe and indignant. He was naturally irritable: and this fault was increased by the excessive laboriousness of his life: yet the Spirit of God had taught him to govern both his temper and his tongue.—That so many and so great virtues both in public and in private life should have called forth against him many enemies, no one will wonder who duly considers what has ever befallen

eminent men, both in sacred and profane history. Those enemies brand him as a *heretic*: but Christ suffered under the same reproach. He was *expelled*, say they, from Geneva. True, he was: but he was solicited to return. He is charged with *ambition*, yea with aspiring at a new popedom. An extraordinary charge to be brought against a man who chose *his* kind of life, and in this state, in this church, which I might truly call the very seat of poverty. They say again that he *coveted wealth*. Yet all his worldly goods, including his library, which brought a high price, scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns. Well might he say in his preface to the book of Psalms, 'That I am not a lover of money, if I fail of persuading men while I live, my death will demonstrate.' How small his stipend was the senate knows: yet they can bear witness that, so far from being dissatisfied with it, he pertinaciously refused an increase when it was offered him. He delighted, forsooth, in *luxury* and indulgence. Let his labours answer the charge. What accusations will not some men bring against him? But no refutation of them is wanting to those persons who knew him while he lived; and they will want none, among posterity, with men of judgment who shall collect his character from his writings. Having given with good faith the history of his life and of his death, after sixteen years' observation of him, I feel myself warranted to declare, that in him was proposed to all men an illustrious example of the life and death of a Christian: so that it will be found as difficult to emulate as it is easy to calumniate him."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is very observable, that at that time of day Beza felt not that he had at all to vindicate Calvin against any accusation drawn from his treatment of Servetus.

On one point noticed by Beza, Calvin's superiority to the love of money, I subjoin the remarks of Bayle, as strikingly shewing the impression which the conduct of Christian ministers in this particular makes on acute and observing men of the world. "This is one of the most extraordinary victories virtue and magnanimity can obtain over

The following are the remarks made at the close of Calvin's life, by the annotators on Spon's History of Geneva. "It is impossible to refuse him the praise of vast knowledge, exquisite judgment, a penetration which is uncommon, a prodigious memory, and admirable temperance and sobriety... Affairs public and private, ecclesiastical and civil, occupied him in succession, and often all together. Consulted from all quarters both at home and abroad; carrying on a correspondence with all the churches and all the learned men of Europe, with the princes and other persons of high distinction, who had embraced the reformed religion; it seems almost inconceivable how one man could be capable of so many things, and how he should not sink under the weight of the business which pressed upon him. The enemy of all pomp; modest in his whole deportment; perfectly disinterested and generous, and even entertaining a contempt for riches; he made himself not less respected for the qualities of his heart, than admired for the powers of his understanding. When the council wished to make him a present of five and twenty crowns on occasion of his continued illness, he refused to accept it; because, he said, since he

nature, even in those who are ministers of the gospel. Calvin has left behind him many who imitated him in his active life, his zeal and affection for the cause; they employ their voices, their pens, their steps and solicitations, for the advancement of the kingdom of God, but then they take care not to forget themselves, and are, generally speaking, a demonstration that the church is a bountiful mother, and that nothing is lost in her service.... Such a will as this of Calvin, and such a disinterestedness, is a thing so very extraordinary, as might make even those who cast their eyes on the philosophers of Greece say of him, 'I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel.' When Calvin was taking his leave of those of Strasburg, in order to return to Geneva, they offered to continue his freedom, and the revenue of a prebend they had assigned him: he accepted the first, but rejected the latter.... He carried one of his brothers with him to Geneva, without ever thinking of advancing him to any honours, as others would have done with his great credit.... Even his enemies say he had him taught the trade of a book-binder, which he exercised all his life."

then rendered no service to the church, so far from meriting any extraordinary recompence, he felt scruples about receiving his ordinary stipend: and a few days before his death he absolutely refused a part of his appointments which had become due.... He always presided in the company of pastors. Without envy they saw him by reason of his rare merit, which raised him far above all his colleagues, occupy the first place.... When his frequent illnesses prevented his being regularly present among them, they had requested Beza to supply his place. A few days after Calvin's death Beza declined this service, and at the same time recommended to them not in future to entrust an office of such importance permanently to any individual—safely as it might have been committed to Calvin, and due as it justly was to his services—... but rather to choose a fresh moderator every year, who should simply be considered as *primus inter pares*—presiding among his equals. This proposition was unanimously approved, and Beza himself notwithstanding the pleas on which he would have been excused, was immediately chosen the first moderator, as possessing all the requisite qualifications: and the choice was sanctioned by the council."

Some readers will probably think that there are features in both these sketches of Calvin's character, which are too favourably drawn. Beza's statement (even as I have somewhat softened it,) of his having restrained his too irritable temper from shewing itself even in words, and much more in actions, differs from the convictions which Calvin himself felt, and avowed to the members of the senate. Perhaps also the imputation of "ambition" is too summarily disposed of by Beza; and the praise of modesty in his whole deportment somewhat too lavishly bestowed by our anonymous authors—though partiality for him does not appear to be their prominent characteristic. We cannot but suspect that a little love of power

(which he could not but feel himself well qualified both to acquire and to wield,) entered into his temper: and that it "gave him some pain to see others differ from him," will not excite the surprise of those who are duly sensible how strongly, as Hooker remarks in this very connexion, "nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels;" and, who at the same time, consider what pains Calvin had taken, and what talents he had exerted, to conduct his counsels to a right conclusion. Yet it is but justice to say, that I have found no trace of any of these evils prevailing in him to such a degree as even to excite the jealousy of his friends, much less to alienate the affections of any who deserved his friendship. Nor does he appear, either by these qualities, or by his "irritability," or his "too great vehemence," ever to have given any permanent offence to the senate. The persons who resisted and disliked him seem to have been in general loose and bad men, who could not brook the restraints which his character and influence, and the discipline he had established, imposed on them. His taking the lead among those with whom he usually acted seems to have been an office which naturally devolved upon him, rather than a power which he assumed. Whatever "equality" might be theoretically maintained, he was felt to be so decidedly the "first" man present, that others, even unintentionally and insensibly, fell into their ranks in subordination to him. His friends uniformly speak of him with an admiration and affection, which demonstrate that he on the whole "bore his honours meekly," and that his yoke was never galling to them.

We will conclude this review of Calvin's character with a few remarks on him as compared with some of his great contemporaries—leaders in the work of reformation. Five persons of this description have more particularly engaged our attention in the histories of the Lutheran and the Swiss reformation;

and we have now traced, even to their close, the lives of LUTHER and MELANCTHON, of ZWINGLE, and ŒCOLAMPADIUS, and CALVIN. These five persons may perhaps be admitted into one class, which, as far as Germany and Switzerland are concerned, must be exclusively their own: though among them, whether we regard the mental powers which they exerted, or the effect of their labours, we must acknowledge a "first three,"<sup>1</sup> unto which the others have "not attained." In Calvin we trace not indeed the chivalrous heroism of the great Saxon reformer; nor the sometimes "too adventurous"<sup>2</sup> elevation of the father of the Swiss reformation; nor, certainly, the genius and the tenderness of Melancthon; nor "the meekness of wisdom" which peculiarly adorned Œcolampadius. But in some other important qualities he excelled them all. Perhaps in learning he was superior to any one of them: in sound and correct judgment, formed upon a comprehensive and dispassionate consideration of all the points involved in a great question, I should certainly conclude him to have been so. Firm as Luther, though without his impetuosity, he avoided all the embarrassments which arose from the scrupulous anxiety of Melancthon. Inferior to none, superior to most of them, in sagacity and penetration, he was more a man of system and order in all things, whether relating to doctrine, to discipline, or to his compositions as an author, than any other of their number. The first among them, we may perhaps pronounce, in sheer intellect, he fell short of more than one of them in the powers of imagination, and of all of them in warmth of heart. Hence, while he commands our veneration, he does not equally attract our affection.

Calvin's Works originally amounted to twelve volumes folio: they have since been compressed into

<sup>1</sup> Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin.

<sup>2</sup> Dean Milner.

nine. The first seven consist of Commentaries and Expository Lectures on nearly the whole of Scripture; the eighth is occupied by miscellaneous pieces; and the ninth contains the Institutes of the Christian Religion, and the author's correspondence as published by Beza in the year 1575. They are written in a close, pure, and even elegant Latin style; and the praises which have been bestowed upon them, from apparently the most opposite quarters are almost without a parallel. Hooker speaking of Calvin as an author says: "We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institution of Christian Religion, the other his no less industrious travels for exposition of holy scripture, according unto the same institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them if they gainsayed, and of glory above them if they consented."<sup>1</sup>—Richard Baxter, who has sometimes furnished a name to a system contradistinguished to *Calvinism*, says: "I know no man since the apostles' days, whom I value and honour more than Calvin, and whose judgment in all things, one with another, I more esteem, and come nearer to."<sup>2</sup> And even Arminius, a short time before his death, writes: "After the holy scriptures, I exhort the students to read the Commentaries of Calvin: . . . for I tell them that he is incomparable in the interpretation of scripture; and that his Commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian fathers: so that, in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the preeminence to him beyond

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Eccl. Pol.

<sup>2</sup> *Saints' Rest*, III. xiv. 10.



most others, indeed beyond them all. I add, that, with regard to what belongs to common places, his Institutes must be read after the Catechism, as a more ample interpretation. But to all this I subjoin the remark, that they must be perused with cautious choice, like all other human compositions."—And again, speaking of the doctrine of justification, he says: "My opinion is that of Calvin, to whose third book of the Institutes, on this subject, I am ready to subscribe."<sup>1</sup>

The occasion of the Christian Institutes has been noticed.<sup>2</sup> The work was greatly enlarged and altered in its arrangement after its first publication: but its doctrine appears unchanged from first to last. One of the first things probably which would strike a reader, who has known Calvin only by common report, on examining the Institutes, would be the highly practical character of the work. Only four or five chapters out of fourscore are employed on those subjects which are commonly supposed to distinguish Calvin's writings: and these chapters together scarcely equal in extent the two chapters on the Moral Law, or the one on Prayer. In like manner only two articles treating of these subjects, (amounting to fifty-five pages out of eight hundred,) are found in all Calvin's other works, except what may be scattered among his Commentaries.

So much it seemed proper to remark for the purpose of obviating prevailing misapprehensions: but to enter more particularly into these questions, or into the character of Calvin's works, would be foreign to this place, and to our present purpose.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Declaration of Arminius," see *Christian Observer* for 1807, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> A copious analysis and review of the Institutes is given in *Contin. of Milner*, vol. iii. 495—601. Also, in an appendix, a full exposure of a scandalous calumny against the moral character of Calvin, which has been afresh brought forward by the present bishop of Strasburg—to the disgrace of the accuser and not of the accused.

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